

# Mutual Imaginaries

---

Perceptions of Otherness and the performance of a cosmopolitan identity in Arambol

---



Melanie Peelen

Joanne Smallegoor



**Universiteit Utrecht**

Melanie Peelen 5710537

Joanne Smallegoor 5670179

Bachelor project 2018-2019

Supervisor: Annemiek Prins

Second assessment: Gijs Cremers

Word count: 21.030 (excluding footnotes)

## **Acknowledgements**

This thesis would not have been possible without the support of many people. First of all, we would specifically like to thank Mansi and Pareen, who connected us to so many different people and places and have taught us so much about tourism in Arambol. You were always there to answer our questions, help us out with our research and provided us with support throughout our research (and stomach infections). Secondly, we want to thank all of our dear friends whom we got to know during our stay in the Imagination Hostel. In particular we want to give thanks to Harsh, Marco, Rahil, Michael, Aaron, Sakshi, Alberto and Ella, for your love and emotional support and for making our fieldwork such an incredible and unforgettable experience. We will be eternally nostalgic about the Bollywood dances, full-moon ceremonies and rooftop jam-sessions we had together. Thirdly, we specifically want to thank Panu, for spending so much time with us and always helping us out with finding new informants. Moreover, we want to thank our friends and family at home, who were always ready to call and provide us with support. Finally, we would like to thank our tutor, Annemiek Prins, for her support and excellent guidance and expertise.

“Conversations across boundaries can be fraught, all the more so as the world grows smaller and the stakes grow larger. It’s therefore worth remembering that they can also be a pleasure.

What academics sometimes dub as cultural Otherness should prompt neither piety nor consternation.”

(Appiah 2006)

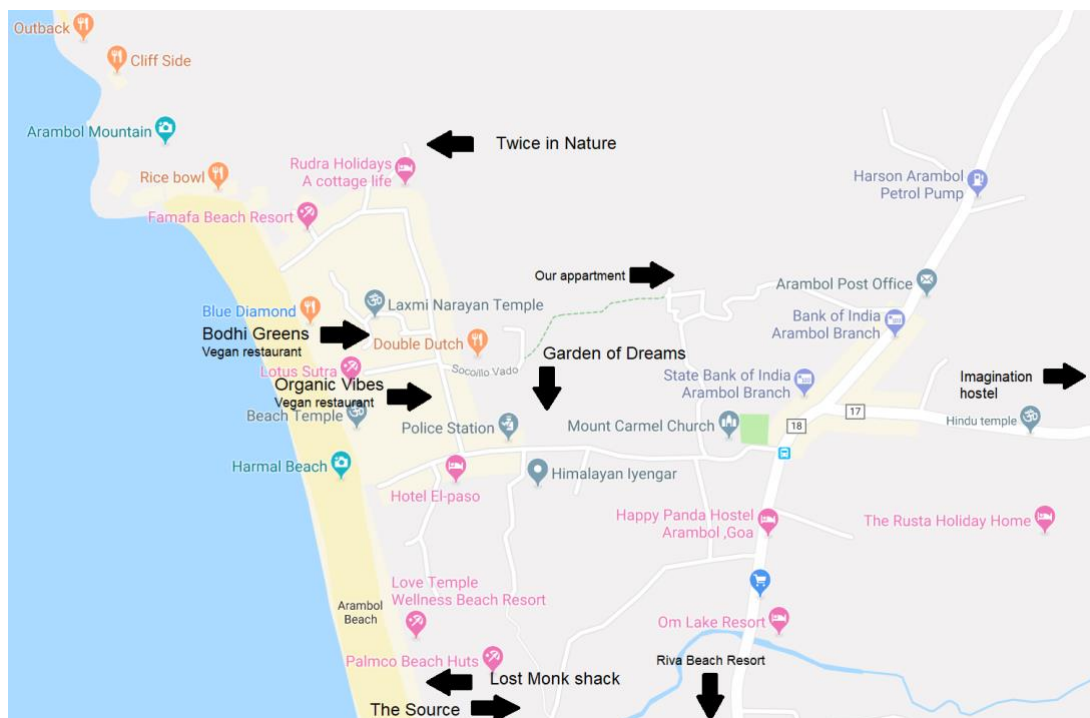
## **Table of contents**

<b>Introduction</b>	8
Methods and ethics	10
<b>Chapter 1: Theoretical Framework</b>	13
Anthropology of tourism in the (post)colonial world	13
The tourist destination as a third-space	16
Engaging with the Other	19
Cosmopolitanism as identity and lifestyle	21
<b>Chapter 2: Context</b>	24
Imagining India	24
Imagining Goa	25
Imagining Arambol	26
<b>Chapter 3: Travellers as world citizens</b>	28
Community of travellers in Arambol	28
Orientalist Cosmopolitanism	32
The construction of the Self	36
Conclusion	41
<b>Chapter 4: Tourism workers as world citizens</b>	43
Cosmopolitan identity	45
Critical cosmopolitanism	46
<b>Chapter 5: Imaginaries and the enactment of authenticity</b>	48
Imagining the West	48
(Re)construction of a national identity	50
Selling traditional ‘Indianness’	52
Conclusion	53
<b>Chapter 6: Discussion and conclusion</b>	54
Discussion	58
Limitations and suggestions for further research	60
Conclusion	60
<b>Works Cited</b>	61

## 1. Map of Goa<sup>1</sup>



## 2. Map of Arambol<sup>2</sup>



## Introduction

<sup>1</sup> Picture downloaded from: <http://www.jantakareporter.com/india/goa-india/assembly-polls-go-a-likely-witness-three-cornered-contest/92262/>

<sup>2</sup> Map downloaded from Google Maps including important places that are mentioned in our research.

It is around five 'o clock in Arambol. Many people are walking down the road, surrounded by dozens of small stalls selling incense sticks and Shiva paintings, to the white sandy beach to view the sunset. We are walking down the road with Karan, a nineteen-year-old boy from the mountains, who works here for the season to make some money and have a good time. The beach accommodates many different people around sunset. From people sitting on colourful cloths selling handmade jewellery to backpackers sitting in lotus pose, meditating with their hands purposely directed at the setting sun. While we are walking next to the setting sun, we stop to watch a woman who is drawing an enormous mandala in the sand. Next to the artwork, there is a cardboard box for donations. After all of us notice the box, we look at each other and laugh a little, when Karan says 'foreigners here want to make all kind of money'.

Karan's remark on foreigners trying to earn a living is very characteristic for Arambol. Arambol is a popular tourist destination in Goa, a state on India's West coast. Every year travellers from the West come to Arambol to spend the season there, which spans from October to March. Although some travellers stay longer than others, generally it can be said that most travellers stay there for at least a month, some even decide to live in Arambol for the season and travel to another part of India when the season in Arambol is over. Due to their nomadic lifestyle, these travellers try to make a living while being on the road. From massage therapists and yoga teachers to digital nomads, you will find any kind of occupation in Arambol. But not only travellers from Western parts of the world come to Arambol to enjoy a nomadic lifestyle. Every year hundreds of Indians from the North of India travel to Arambol to work in the restaurants, shacks, guesthouses and shops. In addition, many Indian yoga- or meditation teachers come to Arambol to make a living. Although these tourism workers come to Arambol to earn money, most of them come to Arambol specifically because they aspire a different kind of life, where they can explore the world and learn from other cultures while being in their own country. Therefore, it can be said that both travellers and tourism workers leave their 'normal' life at home behind to pursue a different kind of lifestyle.

Although this kind of community-based tourism in the global South, which involves 'locals' and travellers living side-by-side, is emerging in many places around the world (Macrae 2016, 20), tourism studies still has to catch on to this somewhat new phenomenon.<sup>3</sup> As pointed out by Febriani (2015, 111), 'the majority of tourism studies in the global South

---

<sup>3</sup> There are a few exceptions to this, see for example Graeme Macrae. 2016. Community and cosmopolitanism in the New Ubud. *Annals of Tourism Research* (59): 16-29.

have focused on East/West, North/South encounters between Western guests and their host destinations.’’ These binaries form the basis for most studies on tourist and ‘local’ interactions, including for example, *the Tourist Gaze* (1990) written by John Urry, as well as publications focussing on the notion of authenticity (MacCannell 1973; Olsen 2002) and tourist imaginaries (Salazar 2012; Swain 2014). We consider it important to study tourist and ‘local’ interactions in the global-South through historically situated imaginaries and gazes, as it is clear that these interactions are inevitably shaped by forms of Othering (Cohen 2011). However, we argue that viewing the tourist as the sole seeker of the exotic Other and hence, framing the tourism worker as the ‘local’ or exotic Other provides limited capacity for studying the complex process of mutual identity construction in a community-based tourism destination like Arambol. In order to overcome these binaries, we choose the concept of cosmopolitanism as a tool to study these interactions, as cosmopolitanism stresses the mutuality of identity constructions rather than the effect of one population on the other. Therefore, our research question is:

What ideas and imaginaries of Otherness exist in the mutual relationship between backpackers and tourism workers and how does this shape a cosmopolitan identity performance?

Anthropologists studying travelling as a lifestyle have often linked this concept to the notion of cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism can be defined as an openness and willingness to interact with the Other and Other ways of life. Snee (2013, 145) notes that cosmopolitanism is a: “[c]onscious attempt to be familiar with people, objects and places that sit outside one’s local or national settings”. It is therefore not surprising that tourism, travelling and cosmopolitanism are so deeply intertwined. Nonetheless, although cosmopolitanism has been studied in relation to the identity performance of white and Western travellers, it has not often been applied to study the identity performance of ‘locals’ or tourism workers.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, in line with Salazar (2010), we want to apply the concept of cosmopolitanism to both elite and non-elite subjects, as our goal is to contribute critically to the existing work on the study of cosmopolitanism in tourism. In this thesis, we will argue that Arambol functions as a third-space (Bhabha 2004) in which both tourism workers and travellers can engage in cross-cultural encounters with an Other, but at the same time find familiarity. In addition, although this third-space is perfect for cosmopolitan engagement, we will argue that this engagement is informed by structural power relations as well as a mutually constructed univocal narrative in which the West is demonized

---

<sup>4</sup> Exceptions are there, see for example Salazar (2010) and Febriani (2015).



and the East romanticized. Hence, we argue that in a tourism destination like Arambol, processes of cultural hybridization go hand-in-hand with the reinforcement of fixed notions of cultures.

## **Methods and ethics**

This research is based on three months of ethnographic fieldwork from February until mid-April. Our research is complementary, Joanne has focused on the imaginaries and cosmopolitan identity construction of travellers while Melanie has focused on the imaginaries and cosmopolitan identity construction of tourism workers. The travellers Joanne has studied are all long-term travellers that resided in Arambol during our research, who were all from Western parts of the world. In addition, the tourism workers Melanie has studied are not native to Goa but migrants from other parts of India. Melanie's informants were all men between 18 and 50 years old. Joanne's informants were ten men and five women and all Western travellers between 24 and 67 years old. Since Arambol is only a small village we spend most our time hanging out with our participants at different locations. We spent time with our informants at the beach shacks, in the cafés and restaurants, during concerts in the evening, in the hostel and at yoga drop-in classes. We sat down next to our participants and sometimes 'followed' them during the day. This enabled us to see where our informants went, who they met and what they were talking about. As a result of this we lived closely to our informants<sup>5</sup> and in addition we came to an emic understanding of what different places meant for our informants and how those places related to each other. Additionally, we worked in these same places to process our field notes and analyses. In that way, though we did research for only ten weeks, we have spent an extensive amount of time 'in the field'.

In addition to hanging out, we also collected our data through semi-structured interviews, informal conversations, small talk and participant observation. As previously noted, participant observation was at the basis of all our activities of hanging-out. In addition, Melanie conducted nine interviews with tourism workers. Joanne conducted nine interviews with travellers. Though most of our insights were collected during small talk and informal conversations with our key-informants, we wrote down our insights as field notes and we recorded our semi-structured interviews with permission. We made use of meta-notes<sup>6</sup> during

---

<sup>5</sup>: This was especially the case for Joanne as travellers tend to have more 'free-time', in which travellers would often 'hang out' themselves. Though Melanie spent, in spite of the long working hours of tourism workers, an extensive amount of time with her informants during their work.

<sup>6</sup> Meta-nodes involve a certain level of analysis based on the data we wrote down in our field notes.

our fieldwork, which we often discussed together and compared with each other and some of our key-informants (DeWalt&DeWalt 2011, 170). Working together enabled us to compare our data and hence, have a more accurate interpretation of our data. In addition, we analysed our transcribed interviews by using the method of coding within the NVivo computer program. Though most of our informants mentioned they would not mind if we used their real names, we decided to use pseudonyms to guarantee at least a certain level of privacy.<sup>7</sup>

Ethical problems we faced during our time in field mostly revolved around the intertwining of being both an anthropologist and a tourist. Different scholars have elaborated on the overlapping identities of anthropologist and tourist. For example, Galani-Moutafi (2000, 215-216) points out how both anthropology and tourism have (re)produced representations of the Other.<sup>8</sup> In addition, Crick (1995, 219-220) relates this overlapping of identities to a “deeply entrenched blind spot”, which is based on the representations of the other and the self. In our research, these issues of representation consisted of challenges about informed consent and the rightful interpretation of our informants’ words. Many of Melanie’s informants were uneducated, which caused her to explain things in a relatively simple manner. It was rather difficult to be completely honest about the subjects of the research and being comprehensible at the same time, creating issues on informed consent. In addition, it was not always easy to interpret her data, as there was a language barrier. For Joanne, besides representations being imperilled to subjectivity, these issues were not really there, hence it was possible to be honest about the research objective and to be understood by her participants.

The second ethical dilemma consists of ways in which we were seen as the Other as well as certain mismatches in expectations. For Melanie being identified as a tourist or traveller and female, resulted in being approached romantically and commercially. Additionally, some informants saw her as friend, which blurred the lines between being there as researcher and traveller. Through ‘being there’, hanging out and having small conversations, Melanie gained more trust and awareness, which helped to overcome these initial approaches and expectations. For Joanne this translated in to have a kind of ‘undercover’ position as researcher, because she was, first of all, identified as traveller in the field. Informants trusted her rather quickly, as she held the same (privileged)<sup>9</sup> position as her informants, which often blurred the lines between

---

<sup>7</sup> We have used Facebook and Instagram to connect and stay connected with some of our informants. If we would use their real names, it would be very easy to find out who they are, while we mentioned we would guarantee their privacy in the best way we can.

<sup>8</sup> Theoretically, we try not to (re)produce these static representations, but rather (de)situating essentializing and static ideas in the context of a dialectical relationship and transcending the binary of ‘local’ representing the Other.

<sup>9</sup> This relates to both our position as Western and white.

being a traveller and a researcher. We both tried to overcome this overlapping of identities by creating awareness for our informants: we would mention when wrote something down and empathized we were asking questions for our research.

The outline of this thesis is as following. First of all, we will set out our theoretical framework in which we will reflect on theoretical concepts that are relevant for our ethnographic research. Secondly, we will describe Arambol and India as a tourist destination in our context. Thirdly, we will discuss our ethnographic findings in the empirical chapters. Lastly, we will elaborate on our mutual findings in the discussion and conclusion.

## Chapter 1: Theoretical Framework

### The anthropology of tourism in the post-colonial world

#### The anthropology of tourism

Joanne Smallegoor

After the 1970s, the discipline of anthropology began to focus on the political and social realities of the post-colonial world which, among other phenomena, included tourism (Leite and Swain 2015, 1). At that time, tourism was studied by looking at three aspects: leisure, hospitality and ‘culture’. An important work during that time, focusing on social relations within the framework of hospitality, was the volume *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* which was edited by Valene Smith (2012 [1977]). This volume focuses on the economic and social impact of tourism on host societies. The book analyzes the complex tourist and ‘local’ interactions in terms of people and places. For decades an opposition between ‘the tourist’ (guest) and ‘the host’ (the Other) has been a dominant binary in anthropological tourism studies (Leite and Swain 2015, 2). In line with this binary framework scholars have viewed tourism as the seeking of novelty and change (Cohen 1979) or as the search for authenticity (MacCannell 1973). The concept of authenticity has been applied to study mainly tourist motivations and experiences. In the *Tourist Gaze* (1990) written by John Urry, he identifies tourists as ‘contemporary pilgrims’ seeking authenticity in ‘other places’ and ‘other times. Reifying the guest and the host binary, the concept of authenticity is about the guest or tourist seeking (authentic) other places or the (exotic) Other. Hence, as Bandyopadhyay & Ganguly (2018, 599) have stated: “Tourism research has generally travelled in only one direction from the West to the East.” The study of tourism nowadays is marked by a range of topics, however, tourism studies is still informed and researched in view of this distinction between Western tourist opposed to the ‘native’ or local. In the post-colonial context of tourist destinations in the global South, tourism studies have been informed by the discourse of Orientalism. In order to understand the way in which tourism is interconnected with Orientalism we will elaborate on the post-colonial theories that can contribute to an understanding of the relationship between colonialism and tourism.

As aforementioned, tourism studies focusing on the global South have been informed by post-colonial studies and, in particular, the discourse of Orientalism. Bresner (2010, 10) has argued that ‘the discourses and assumptions that informed colonial and anthropological enterprises continue to inform contemporary ideologies of tourism, as illustrated by tourism’s tendency towards ‘Othering’. First coined by Edward Said (2010, 10-30) in *Orientalism*, Othering is defined as creating an opposition between oneself and the Other referring in particular to the way in which Western oriental scholars represented the East vis-à-vis the West. According to him, orientalism as a discourse was rooted in a set of assumptions about the Orient that implicitly justified Western imperialism and supremacy (Said 2010, 40-182). Particularly striking is Said’s (2010) notion of *latent Orientalism*. Latent Orientalism encompasses the ambiguity of what the Orient is, due to its mystification and unknowability. As Said states (2010) the Orient was expressed in metaphors of depth, secrecy and (feminized) sexual promise. Historically, many social scientists and historians have observed that the attribution of mystic qualities and powers arises out of an uncertainty that develops in situations of encountering a socially distant Other or a distant place (Picard 2011, 6). This explains why the mysteriousness of the ambiguous Other or latent Orientalism still informs many tourists’ motivations to travel to the global-South today. Tourism as a quest for authenticity, is related to a certain time and to the idea of a ‘lost’ condition (MacCannell 1979, 603). Especially in the context of former colonies, some tourist sites have been preserved from historical contact with the West and thus are seen as being more ‘authentic’ (MacCannell 1979, 589-603). Tourism is inevitably based on a certain difference between home and the travel destination. Hence, symbols of difference are commonly articulated in tourism marketing and advertising.

According to Jaakson (2004, 175), tourists broadly fall into three categories that could sometimes overlap; contrast seekers who seek a touristic experience that is vastly different from their home-country, contrast indifferent tourists who are oblivious about signs of culture and contrast avoiders who seek comforts and reminders of home. Travellers mostly fall in the category of contrast seeker. As O’Reilly (2005, 153-154) notes, Travellers, in addition to their lives in a Western consumer society seek experiences of a life more authentic and traditional and not (or less) affected by Western modernity. This often translates in a desire to travel to the mystical or spiritual East. Hence, it is clear that structures of latent Orientalism are still very much alive in tourism to the global-South. This is also noted by Jaakson (2004, 175) who states that tourism is a form of neo-colonialism and Western imperialism. However, although

we agree that “tourism has brought about widely shared cultural patterns that sometimes transcend individuals” (Picard 2011, 9), we argue that the statement that tourism is a form of neo-colonialism neglects the way in which Orientalism in tourism is embedded in social relations and hence also mutually constructed and negotiated. In order to reflect on this process of co-constitution within the context of tourism we will also reflect on (post)colonial perceptions of the West by looking at structures of Occidentalism.

## **Imaginaries of the West**

Joanne Smallegoor

Opposed to the Orient, exists the Occident which refers to the West as distinct from the East.<sup>10</sup> Occidentalism entails, as argued by Nair-Venugopal and other scholars (2012, 42), stereotyped perceptions of the Western world in the form of “ideologies, attitudes, visions or images of the West developed in either the West or the non- West with reference to specific tropes, metaphors, symbols and signs.” For example, images of the West hold both very positive connotations in relation to the West’s perceived modernity as well as a dehumanizing image (Nair-Venugopal 2012, 43). This ‘dehumanizing’ image holds negative connotations of the West, which as Bloch (2017, 75) argues are essentialized ideas of the West perceived to be materialistic, disrespectful, individualistic and amoral due to processes of capitalism and separation of the church and the state. As argued by Säävälä (2009, 136), Occidentalism is not solely a reversible image of Orientalism. With this she means that Orientalism and Occidentalism differ in their ideological role, meaning that Orientalism is directly embedded in a strategy for justifying Western supremacy and world domination of the Orient, while Occidentalism is embedded in domestic and regional politics and has little influence on the Western Other (Säävälä 2009, 136).

Evidently tourism, in whatever form, is based on a set of expectations (Salazar 2012, 876). Hence, studies of for example (local) tourism workers and domestic travellers, can shed light on how their presentation of the self and society is entangled with tourists’ expectations and imaginaries of both the ‘authentic’ Other as well as the West (Salazar and Graburn 2014;

---

<sup>10</sup> In line with Smith we refer to the West not necessarily as a particular geographical location or continental boundary, but, rather, as a set of shared cultural characteristics that are often seen as distinct from the ‘East’. Thus, North America, Australia, and parts of Europe would fall under the West. Similarly, Westerners refer to people within these locales who embody shared cultural characteristics and habits. For more information read Lisa Smith. 2016. “Being on the Mat: Quasi-Sacred Spaces, ‘Exotic’ Other Places and Yoga Studios in the West”. In *Constructions of the Self and Other in Yoga, Travel and Tourism* edited by L.G Beaman and S, Sikka. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Leite and Swain 2014, 4). As Occidentalism is about a self-image opposed to Orientalistic images, they are as Carrier (1995, 2) has argued, intertwined and mutually reinforcing. This means that these essentializing ideas exist together and also ‘shape the construction and interpretation of the essential attributes of those societies’ in a dialectic relation (Carrier 1995, 8). In addition, as Turner (1997, 9) points out, considering the processes of globalization it is rather difficult to “carry on talking about oriental and occidental cultures as separate, autonomous or independent cultural regimes.” (Turner 1997, 9). Hence, although we understand that by focusing on Occidentalism and Orientalism we affirm this binary opposition between the West vis-à-vis the East, we do not want to reify this binary but rather study how these (essentializing and static) imaginaries are mutually constructed and exist in a dialectical relationship. As previously noted, studying tourism in binary opposition between host/guest or local/tourist does not take into account the already existing negotiation and agency of people and places and the ways in which tourism imaginaries relate to political and social realities (Salazar 2012, 877). Hence, in order to study the mutual identity construction between tourism workers and travellers in tourist destinations (as opposed to studying ‘tourism’ in one direction), we will respond to Hollinshead’s (1998, 121) call to use Bhabha’s influential theory to study the phenomenon of tourism. In the next chapter we will use Bhabha’s (2004) concept of third-space and hybridity, as formulated in *The Location of Culture*. This provides us with an essential postmodern framework through which we can understand the way identities and ‘cultures’ come to being and are negotiated in the context of the tourist destination.

## **The tourist destination as a third-space**

### **Globalization and tourism**

Joanne Smallegoor

It is widely noted that the phenomenon of tourism is deeply embedded in the process of globalization. Globalization can be defined as the processes in which (conscious and unconscious) activities of communities and individuals from all parts of the world are becoming more and more interconnected in economic, political, cultural and environmental dimensions (Eriksen 2007, 4). Globalization consists of cultural processes that are embedded in the shrinking and expansion of the world. This means the fast contact across different boundaries as well as the created awareness of difference (Eriksen 2007, 142). In other words, it is a dialogue between the global and the local, an already existing dialogue, but now at a new intensified speed. This is characterized by mobility, the movement of people as well as objects,

images and ideas that are interconnected and shaping our understandings of difference (Eriksen 2007, 5; Urry 2008, xiv). Cohen (2011, 1535) states that: "...globalization, with mobility as a crucial characteristic, is leading to different ways of understanding identities and relating to place." Hence, globalization connects people from different parts of the world, while at the same time their differences are strengthened (Eriksen 2007, 142). (Re)enforcing one's identity becomes more and more important due to these elusive processes that are enabling a sense of difference while at the same time fostering sameness. It foregrounds cross-cultural connection and encounters between people. Therefore, we consider it important to study how these intensified cross-cultural connections lead to different ways of understanding the Self in relation to the perceived Other.

### **Hybridity and third-space**

Melanie Peelen

Nonetheless, as aforementioned, there has been an epistemological bias in tourism studies as "the vast majority of studies published in English have focused on East/West, North/South encounters between Western guests and their host destinations" (Winter et al 2004, 4-10). This epistemological bias proves to be inadequate considering certain recent developments in global tourism. For example, in her article on cosmopolitanism in Ubud, Macrae (2006, 17) problematizes these dichotomies by reflecting on the way in which Ubud has developed from a touristic place to a "diversifying international town" in which tourists, expatriates and locals live alongside. This development can be seen in multiple tourist destinations in the world, where new forms of (tourist) communities emerge that transcend the distinction between the local/tourist or host/guest and hence, confronts tourism studies with an analytical problem. Therefore, in this research, we try to overcome this binary by studying cross-cultural encounters and its effect on identity construction through Bhabha's notion of hybridity.

According to Bhabha (2004), cultures are always hybrid as opposed to static and never have a single origin. Bhabha's (2004) concept of third-space and hybridity heavily rely on the linguistic and philosophical work of Saussure and Derrida. According to Saussure, language should be seen as a system of signs. The link between a sign or signifier (for example, a written word) and what it refers to (an object, or, the idea of an object) is inherently arbitrary as the link between the word and what it refers to is never direct. Hence, he argues, signs do not derive their meaning from their form but instead from their difference from other signs. Hence, language operates on the basis of differentiation (Bertens 2014, 58-108). Derrida takes this idea



a step further as he suggests that this difference is itself also deferred. With this he means that every word contains traces of other words as words take meaning from the words that have preceded them as well as words that will follow. As Bertens states: “The process that gives words meaning never ends. The words we say or read never achieve stability.” (Bertens 2014, 109). This means that the ‘signified’ is inherently unstable, obstructing any attempt at a definitive interpretation.

Homi Bhabha (2004) translates this to the meaning and construction of ‘cultures’ and identities, through the notion of hybridity. According to him, hybridity is not the mixing of two ‘original’ cultures, but rather a third-space which enables these two cultures to emerge (Rutherford 1990, 211). With this he means that just like signs in language, cultures only derive their meaning in relation to other cultures. In addition, because the meaning of cultures emerges only in relation to other cultures there are always traces or marks from one culture in another. Seeing culture as a third-space inevitably means that cultures are never fully distinct and static but always changing. This also means that cultures always remain open to interpretation. Bhabha (2004, 55) states: “It is only when we understand that all cultural statements and systems are constructed in this contradictory and ambivalent space of enunciation, that we begin to understand why hierarchical claims to the inherent ‘purity’ of cultures are untenable.” In addition, on a more individual level it is in this liminal space in-between cultures where identities are constructed, translated and negotiated, finding ways of being both the same as well as different (Bhabha 2004, 4). Hence, Bhabha, through his notion of hybridity as a third-space, stresses the mutuality of cultures. This is highly relevant in relation to tourism studies, because the notion of hybridity helps us to examine the tourist destination as exactly such a liminal space in between cultures where identities are performed and where stereotypes are negotiated. As previously noted, it is important to see the construction of cultural identities in the context of globalization, where processes of perceived homogenization cause people to more strongly articulate cultural differences. Hence, against the backdrop of a destination shaped to promote an essentialized ‘different’ culture it is important to study the ways in which these essentializing symbolic messages are incorporated in the way people in this context think and talk about differently perceived populations. In addition, it is important to study how these ideas affect the way people perceive themselves (Hollinshead 1998, 130). In order to gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between perceived difference and identity performance we will lay out important theories considering, identity, imaginaries and cosmopolitanism in the following chapter.

## **Engaging with the Other**

### **Cosmopolitanism and tourism studies**

Melanie Peelen

Cosmopolitan theory in the West traces back to the philosopher Immanuel Kant and his promotion of political ideas about ‘the kindness of strangers’ (Swain 2009, 509). In the twenty-first century cosmopolitan theory began to be applied by scholars in order to analyse worldwide changes due to globalization (Swain 2009, 509). Cosmopolitanism has become a pluralized term that can be studied as ‘an identity, a consciousness or worldview, a global process, or even as a monolithic cultural companion to global capitalism’ (Swain 2009, 509). Our focus lays on studying cosmopolitanism as an identity, specifically in relation to tourism. As noted by Hannerz (1990, 239) cosmopolitanism is ‘a stance towards diversity itself’, it is an ‘an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other’. Hence, cosmopolitanism functions as a useful framework for studying tourism as tourism is inherently based on cross-cultural encounters and engagement with the Other. Studying cosmopolitanism as an identity, we, in line with Snee (2013, 150) look at the way diversity is used in order to create a distinctive self-identity, that incorporates different elements from different settings into a coherent narrative. Applying the concept of cosmopolitanism can shed light on the ways in which the constant cross-cultural engagements between tourism workers and travellers shape the ways in which they reflect on their ‘own’ culture and how they project this culture into a global context (Febriani 2015, 119). However, in order to understand how differences are perceived and performed in tourism encounters, it is necessary to first look at the way in which imaginaries and notions of authenticity play a role in these tourism encounters.

### **Identity, imaginaries and authenticity**

Joanne Smallegoor

Based on Hall’s (1996) conception of identity we see identity as a changeable and fluid construction of how one performs and defines oneself. Identity is mainly defined as personal, but nonetheless requires interaction because we define ourselves according to our social position and the social roles we play. In addition, identity is a social construct embedded in the process of being and becoming, performed in ongoing interaction with others (Hall 1996, 4). Hence, the construction of identity is a negotiation of social exchanges between people and should therefore be seen as a performance. Within the context of tourism in the (post)colonial world, this negotiation is provided in cross-cultural encounters, which are informed by expectations and expressed through social performances (Cohen 2011; Salazar 2012; Adam

and Pritchard 2015, 174). These expectations are embedded in imaginaries and ideas about the orient, the occident and identities as well as ‘cultures’. Different scholars (Salazar 2012; Leite 2014; Swain 2014) use the concept of imaginaries in tourism to grasp the (re)articulated imaginaries of ideas of the oriental and ‘exotic’ Other.

Imaginaries in tourism can come in the form of “worldviews, fantasies, images, discourses, stereotypes, cultural frameworks for interaction with others, imaginings and expectations of the individual tourist, a globally disseminated tourist images of a particular place, the self-consciousness collective identity of a ‘host’ population, and the beliefs tourist hold about locals – and vice versa” (Leite 2014, 261).

For example, Moaz (2006, 221) studied Israeli backpackers in India who reject “home society and culture and travels in quest of ‘authentic’, ‘true’, and positive contact with locals.” Moaz (2006, 221) states that Israeli backpackers have Orientalist images of India as a country “where everything is possible” and Indians “live a simple, but ‘right’ and happy life, spiritual and close to nature.” Spirituality is the most central in these imaginaries, which is an important commodity that can be priced, bought and sold often by “Masters (highly trained teachers of yoga and meditation), Bhabha’s (spiritual teachers) and Gurus (spiritual teachers and mentors)” (Moaz 2006, 227). These (essentializing) imaginaries thus also relate to notions of authenticity. As noted by Friedman (1997, 81) authenticity claims a certain primordial origin which relates to a ‘true essence’ and is thus based on a model of ‘culture’ as absolute and non-negotiable. MacCannell has used the concept of authenticity in relation to the commodification of identities belonging to places and people, as these are consumed by tourists. In MacCannell’s (1973) words, this leads to a “loss of cultural authenticity”. However, as shown through Bhabha’s (2012) notion of hybridity, one cannot point to a single source of cultural purity or ‘authentic culture’. Hence, we agree with Aitchison (2001, 143) that cultural forms (that translate into tourist sights) are also interpreted by tourism workers who then perform them in order to earn a living in “the world’s fastest growing industry”.

As Maoz (2006) has pointed out, not many studies have focused on imaginaries ‘locals’ have of tourists. In addition, not much has been written about imaginaries in relation to Occidentalism. There are a few exceptions to this, for example, Bandyopadhyay and Ganguly (2018, 599) have researched the hosts ‘gaze’ of tourism workers and domestic travellers in Goa and Puducherry towards Western travellers. They argue that Western tourists are perceived to be aspiritual, however reflecting an image of the locals as spiritual as well, “which in turn is

implicated in the very history of colonialism and domination” (Bandyopadhyay and Ganguly 2018, 612). Often imaginaries are thus embedded in historically shaped stereotypes through (post-colonial) images and fantasies that are part of a co-constitution. Still, imaginaries, rely on notions of authenticity referring to a “purity” of identities, people and places, objects, cultural practices and experiences. Furthermore, imaginaries are means of understanding our identity and place in the world (Salazar 2012, 864). Our social identities are constantly constructed by following existing images (Nagel 2003). Hence, imaginaries are the co-product of local people, mediators and tourists and thus cannot be considered simply as only personal stereotypes and ideas, thus prevailing in social interactions (Hall 1996).

## **Cosmopolitanism as identity and lifestyle**

Melanie Peelen

In this section we will elaborate on how cosmopolitanism is embedded in tourism workers and travellers day-to-day identity performance and lifestyle. Scholars have long assumed that cosmopolitanism was a concept limited to the Western and mobile elite (Salazar 2010, 62). However, recently, more attention has been given to the study of cosmopolitan identities of ‘locals’ working in the tourism industry.<sup>11</sup> In line with these recent developments, we will both examine how cosmopolitanism is consumed as well as produced in the context of tourist destinations (Haldrup 2009; Notar 2008).

### **The consumption of cosmopolitanism**

There is a close link between a long-term, budgeted way of traveling and the desire for a cosmopolitan identity. As noted by Davidson (2005, 29) going ‘on the road’ is seen as essential to the production of new identities and imagined communities. These identities are shaped by incorporating representations of symbols in tourist destinations into new forms of belonging and becoming (Davidson 2005, 29). Traveller’s experiences mainly take place in what Edensor (2000, 328-329) calls ‘enclavic spaces’. To encapsulate consumers, enclavic spaces usually focus on the consumption of Otherness. Hence, in these tourist destinations, travellers can engage in all kinds of exotic consumption patterns. These consumption patterns are also

---

<sup>11</sup> See for example, Noel Salazar. 2010. “Tourism and cosmopolitanism: a view from below.” *International Journal Tourism Anthropology* 1 (1): 55-69 and Beth. E. Notar. 2008. “Producing Cosmopolitanism at the Borderlands: Lonely Planetters and “Local” Cosmopolitans in South-West China. *Anthropological Quarterly* 81 (3): 615-650.

referred to as banal cosmopolitanisms. Besides producing a certain exoticized Otherness, these enclavic spaces at the same time provide a sense of familiarity (for example, by providing internet access, English-speaking staff and a certain sense of security) (Edensor 2000, 328-329). Performing mundane cosmopolitanisms through consumption of exotic and authentic goods and services allows backpackers to construct a cosmopolitan identity. As stated by Munt (1994, 101-123) backpackers or 'alternative travellers' travel to exoticized places in the global South in order to challenge the presumed superiority of the West and to rediscover the beauty in traditional ways of living. The consumption of exotic goods and activities give backpackers a feeling of engaging and familiarizing themselves with the exotic Other. Their backpacking journeys thus are intellectualized as a process of self-education into the authentic lives of Other people in destinations that are imagined for adventurous exploration and cosmopolitan achievement (Davidson 2005, 31). Hence, although backpackers seek to 'go native', their engagement with the Other, as previously shown, often relies on an imagined, commodified and performed culture in which the tourism workers or providers actively engage.

### **The production of cosmopolitanism**

Because, in our research, we are focusing on the mutuality of imaginaries as well as the co-constitution of a cosmopolitan identity between tourism workers and travellers, we will now reflect on how the cosmopolitanism is embedded in the identity performance of tourism workers. As aforementioned, cosmopolitanism is captured in the consumption of difference, in which the Other can be deemed as exotic and strange. Tourism is seen by tourism workers as a source of money and a potential for economic gain. Because most travellers cherish the perceived locals as symbols of authenticity, local entrepreneurs have become skillful in manipulating traveller's experience by performing a 'staged authenticity'. Hence, they sell culture, history, and customs as commodities (Maoz 2005, 224). This process reflects a cosmopolitan identity because manipulating cross-cultural encounters means that one needs to have a certain dexterity with which one can operate within cross-cultural frames. In order to capture the 'essence' of a place tourism workers have to translate their culture into a familiar frame of reference for tourists (Picard 2011, 41). Hannerz (1990, 239) describes this form of cosmopolitan capital as 'cosmopolitan competence'. With this, he means the ability to navigate other cultures and systems of meaning. Scholars who have reflected on the cosmopolitan identity construction of tourism workers have mostly focused on this 'cosmopolitan competence' (Salazar 2010, Notar 2008, Picard 2011). Therefore, they have mainly analysed

the cross-cultural encounters between tourism workers and tourists by situating it in a commercial context. Although we argue this ‘ability’ or ‘competence’ is an important factor in the cosmopolitan identity performance of tourism workers, it is not limited to this. Therefore, in our empirical research, we want to go beyond just the economic and ‘livelihood’ perspective and also include other components of cosmopolitanism. For example, as noted by various scholars, cosmopolitanism entails an openness towards Other cultures as well as engagement with these Other cultures (Hannerz 1990; Appiah 2006). This engagement leads to a certain autonomy vis-a-vis the culture the cosmopolitan originated from. This means the cosmopolitan can actively engage or disengage with his own and Other ‘cultures’. In our empirical research we will reflect on such processes of engagement and disengagement by looking at the ways in which aspects of different cultures are incorporated in tourism worker’s identity performance.

## Chapter 2: Context

### Imagining India

Melanie Peelen

India has a long history of being imagined; from the time when the Portuguese sailed into India's West coast in 1498, the country has fascinated travellers from the West. During India's colonization by the British, many Indologists (Hegel, Schlegel, Creuzer and later Zimmer and Campbell to name a few) have attempted to define India's essence in 'scientific' and 'objective' terms (Inden 1986, 431-432). Indians were considered (by most Indologists) to be irrational people, relying on a 'false reality' for their beliefs. Opposed to this was of course the West which (due to the Enlightenment) had been guided by rationality and scientific knowledge and hence had greater knowledge of the natural world (Inden 1986, 415). Overall, in Indologists' representations of India, Indians are characterized as what could be called dionysian, namely, poetic, mystic, irrational, uncivilized and feminine. In contrast, the West was thought to be apollonian, namely rational, civilized and masculine (King 2013, 4). Of course, it must be noted that historical representations of India are not all the same, however as King (2013, 5) notes these representations: "Involve the ascendancy of secular rationality as an ideal within Western intellectual thought, a concomitant marginalization of 'the mystical' and the projection of qualities associated with this concept onto a colonized and essentialized India". Hence, in imagining India a cultural stereotype was created vis-à-vis the West, that could then be subordinated and dominated (King 2013, 92).

Although India was mainly portrayed as backward or lacking, Indologists at the same time shaped a romanticized picture of India as a highly spiritual country. This romanticized depiction of India is still prevalent in contemporary Western images of India and also has become an important part of contemporary Indian (national) identity, especially since the recent growth in Hindu-nationalism (King 2013, 92). Although Hindu-nationalism is not a new phenomenon<sup>12</sup>, its sentiments have rapidly gained popularity, especially since the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) has been voted into power in 2014. The BJP, although working towards the

---

<sup>12</sup> Hindu-nationalist thought was crystallized in India around the 1920's when India was still under British colonial rule. In fact, its emergence runs parallel with the emergence of Gandhian nationalism (which eventually transformed into the Congress party). Hindu-nationalists (like the Indian movement of Muslim separatism) opposed themselves to Gandhian nationalism in that it rejected Gandhi's (universal) view of an Indian nation based on different religious communities. Both the emergence of hindu-nationalist movements and Muslim separatist movements should be situated within the (historical) context of antagonistic minority politics that tie into certain divide-and-rule strategies implemented under British colonial rule. For more information on the history of Hindu-nationalism read Christopher Jaffrelot. 2007. *Hindu-nationalism: a reader*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

creation of a 'Indian nationhood' in practice supports the cultural hegemony of the Hindu majority through its nationalist ideology (Bloch 2017, 73). This nationalist ideology is based on romanticized historical narratives of a so-called Hindu-renaissance<sup>13</sup> and works towards a certain re(construction) of a 'traditional' and 'spiritual' India, excluding domestic minorities such as Muslims, Christians and lower-caste Hindu's.<sup>14</sup>

As noted by Davidson (2005, 30) these romanticized representations of India are revitalized by a range of Indian and overseas tourist advertisements that see traveling in India as a life-changing experience. The popularity of India as a tourist destination has been rapidly increasing (Hannam & Diekmann 2010, 10). This increase in popularity can be explained by the Indian government's active promotion of India as a tourist destination and their investments in cultural attractions to attract more tourists (Hannam & Diekmann 2010, 10). Both Western representations of India and Indian representations of India in travel advertisements are still embedded in colonial discourse. As Bandyopadhyay and Morais (2005, 1011) point out, advertisements of both the Indian government and western travel agencies highlight India's spirituality, its exotic beaches and deserts as well as other beautiful landscapes. These depictions still reflect the colonial representation of India with an emphasis on India's Dionysian qualities. As stated by Davidson (2005, 30): "Such myths form much of the cultural baggage that contemporary visitors bring to India, as a means of interpreting their cross-cultural travel experiences". In order to understand how imaginaries about India are incorporated in performances of travellers and how they are negotiated by Indian tourism workers we will now turn towards one context of our research, namely the Indian state of Goa.

## Imagining Goa

Joanne Smallegoor

Before we reflect on the performances of Western travellers and Indian tourism workers in Goa, we will first briefly look at the tourist scene and the existing imaginaries in Goa. Goa, as the rest of India, has been colonized by the Europeans. However, Goa was a Portuguese colony for over 451 years until 1961 when it was released to India. The state of Goa lays in the west of India, to the south of Bombay and at the coastline of the Arabian sea (Bandyopadhyay 2010, 202). Tourism in Goa started in the 1960's and 1970's as it was one of the places on the 'hippie-

---

<sup>13</sup> For more information on historical narratives of a Hindu-renaissance, read Romila Thapar. 1989. "Imagined Religious Communities? Ancient History and the Modern Search for a Hindu Identity" *Modern Asian Studies* 23 (2): 209–31.



trail' in Asia. Along with this came the trafficking of drugs, psychedelic music and partying, shaping a hedonistic traveller culture (Saldanha 2002, 96). On a yearly basis Goa was already visited by 1,244,412 tourists (foreigners and domestic tourist) in 1999. Goa has 1,4 million inhabitants, however, almost one out of three people come from other places in India. About 400.000 villagers are economically dependent on tourism, the majority of whom are from Goa's Catholic population, since they were inheritors of many Portuguese buildings and cultural traditions (Gupta 2014, 98). Nonetheless, Gupta (2014) as well as Saldanha (2002) both point toward a rising tension between the tourists, villagers and the place. Saldanha (2002, 96) states that by the end of 1970s a moral panic among the villagers grew about the low-budget traveller scene. Gupta (2014, 96) likewise states that many Western foreigners are no longer feeling welcome in the place once perceived as an exotic paradise.

Goa's imaginaries are tied with the Portuguese colonial history, the perceived prosperity of tourism and has often been labelled as 'India for Beginners'. Tourism in Goa is informed by tendencies towards "Othering" (Bresner 2010, 10) which is articulated in different tourist imaginaries and seductions. These imaginaries entail the depicting of Goa as cultural Other, both within and outside India, meaning: "...exotic, easy going, westernized, promiscuous, and alcoholic" (Routledge 2000, 2652). Thus Goa is both exoticized for and by the foreign tourist as well as westernized for Indian tourist (and tourism workers) portraying Goa as 'fun, frolic, festivals, and feni' (Routledge 2000, 2625), as well as a free place (Routledge 2000, 2652). However, these are not static imaginaries as Saldanha (2002, 180) states that Goa is itself, to begin with, a product of globalization. This is voiced in writings of Anthony D'Andrea (2007) researching travellers and characterizing Goa as: "A mosaic of diverse peoples [who] interacted closely in that region." (D'Andrea 2007, 183). Today in Goa, in the slope of globalizing processes which entail the changing of identities of places, communities and individuals, you find a cosmopolitan tourist scene (Gupta 2014, 96). In order to illustrate the layered imaginaries in Goa we will now turn to Arambol as tourist destination.

### **Imagining Arambol**

Joanne Smallegoor

Arambol is a small village in the North of Goa (see map 2). From October until the end of March this village is a traveller's enclave as well as a popular tourist destination for domestic and foreign tourists. As aforementioned, the 60's and 70's hippies were the first tourists to come to Goa, mainly to beaches such as Arambol and Vagator. They came based on imaginaries relating to exoticized ideas about India as more 'spiritual' than the West, as well

as the cheap prices and easy access to drugs, that seduced the hippies. Routledge (2000, 2653) states the 'hippie mystique' still remains alive in the imaginaries. Today Western travellers are seduced by the hedonistic imaginaries of Goa as a hippie haven and recreate this experience in clothing, drugs and partying (Routledge 2000, 2650). This seduces especially travellers, whom often come to look for a life that is more authentic or traditional and hence other than their own, as this would transgress boundaries of fixed Western identities (O'Reilly 2005, 153-154; Davidson 2005, 28). This is practiced in following meditation or yoga classes, living on a small budget, sleeping in hostels or ashram accommodation and partying. Hence, they are performing an ideology of leisure opposed to a 'Western' consumer identity, which is (partly) based on perceived ideas of the authentic Other way of life (Davidson 2005, 38-39).

Yet, it is a scene where mostly privileged white Westerners feel comfortable and hence, articulating politics of exclusions (Gupta 2014, 102). However, they are also a constitutive part of imaginaries held by domestic tourists, who are seduced by the perceived Western-ness of Goa and hence, ideals of romance, sexuality and encounters with the Western other (Gupta 2014, 106). These imaginaries, foreground Goa as 'different' from both the rest of India as well as from the West and entails a constant exoticizing of different (tourist) groups. However, in Arambol imaginaries of India and the relating ideas exist besides each other, laying bare different layers of imaginaries and ideas of Othering. Hence, all these imaginaries become symbols of difference that continue to be articulated in tourism marketing, which in turn (re)shapes imaginaries that lay at the heart of Goa's (and Arambol's) tourist industry. Based on these cross-cultural encounters in this tourist scene, we consider Arambol an ideal place for researching the performativity of a cosmopolitan identity, as in Arambol identity is in a constant negotiation with other people.

## Chapter 3: Travellers as world citizens

*“But here I felt safe, it felt like family.  
It was a real good connection.”*

### Introduction

In this chapter I will unpack the concept of cosmopolitanism by zooming in on travellers’ ideas and experiences of India and the West. Throughout this chapter I will argue how they negotiate between notions of Otherness and sameness, both being different and being the same. I will illustrate this by paying attention to what travellers say and do, and how they interact. Firstly, I will argue that the experiences of travellers in Arambol relate to a cosmopolitan community, which is based on having the same travelling lifestyle. At the same time, I will highlight a tension between travellers as ‘contrast avoiders’ and as ‘contrast seekers’ (Jaakson 2004, 175). In the second part of the chapter I will show that travellers’ motivations for coming to Arambol often relate to a static imaginary of India equated to Hinduism and spiritual practices deriving from this. By stating this, the cosmopolitan orientation towards Otherness is bound up with an Orientalist Otherness and the process of hybridization, transcending a specific location of encountering Otherness. In the third paragraph, I argue in line with Hannerz (2007, 83), that in spite of a cosmopolitan idea of the world as one, inequality still remains. Though my informants often reject the West based on their perceived images, in their quest for discovering their self, they still depend on (Western) privileges that enable these journeys. In short, this chapter is about Arambol displaying a cross-cultural context where encounters take place, ‘cultures’ and identities come to be and are negotiated (Bhabha, 2004), and how travellers give voices and thus meanings to ongoing social and cultural processes worldwide.

### Community of travellers in Arambol

It is around 6.30 p.m. in the beginning of the evening, as I am watching the sunset from the roof terrace of our hostel in Arambol. I am standing in between Kiran and Jack, and while the sun disappears quickly into the Arabian Sea, the familiar sound of the song “Follow the Sun” by Xavier Rudd is playing from the music box. As the evening darkens, I walk towards the sofas, which consist of wooden pallets and rectangular cushions, where about six people are

sitting and chatting. I sit down next to Melanie and across from David who is smoking the joint that is being passed around. Then David asks: “Who is playing the music, can I put something on?” The music changes to an Arabic song. Standing behind the sofa, Kiran is talking in Hindi with Heena, who just stepped out to the terrace of the hostel. With a smile on her face Heena hops back inside the hostel, to reappear one minute later with a young blond woman who is tanned by the sun and carries a backpack over one shoulder. The young woman has a big smile on her face, while she takes off her backpack and greets us by raising her hand and waves while saying: “Hello! I’m Mieke, nice to meet you all.” Mieke puts her backpack next to the sofa and sits next to Akash. In English, Akash asks her: “Why did you come to Arambol?” “Well, I am a yoga teacher and I will attend a holistic yoga course in the South of Goa in two weeks. And another course of aerial yoga, but that is just for fun,” she says, while pointing to the yoga mat which is dangling from her backpack.”

The evening described above illustrates a small glimpse of the daily life of travellers in a hostel in Arambol. This hostel is one place in Arambol providing a space for cross cultural encounters. What this vignette highlights are the flows and conversations of travellers (and tourists) from different nationalities. These conversations spoken in different languages and the music from different countries, portray these cross-cultural encounters and interactions: travellers in Arambol tend to be exposed to many different cultural practices. Besides differences, I argue that travellers also search for familiarities, which relates to the cosmopolitan orientation in a travelling lifestyle. I will analyse this by following Jaakson’s (2004, 175) categories of tourists. He points out three types: ‘contrast seekers’, those who seek a touristic experience that is different from their home-country, ‘contrast indifferent’ tourists who are oblivious to signs of culture, and ‘contrast avoiders’, those who seek the comforts and reminders of home. Firstly, I will situate the experiences of travellers in the category of ‘contrast seekers’, based on how travelling as lifestyle is defined. Secondly, I will position travellers in the category of ‘contrast avoiders’, because they experience and look for signs of familiarity as well. Different scholars, like Jaakson (2004), have related a stance towards differences or Otherness to a position in the world. For example, Cohen (2011, 1545) has related this exposition to cultural practices to a cosmopolitan disposition. In addition, Haldrup (2009, 54) states that tourism: “enables and shapes different modes of attachment to and detachment from places, cultures and people.” Tourism, or in this instance travelling, can be viewed as a state that entails different modes of belonging in the world and for that reason, we can think of travelling as a way of positioning oneself in the world, which relates to cosmopolitan practices (Haldrup 2009, 54). According to Hannerz (1990, 239), cosmopolitanism is an orientation and: “...in a stricter sense includes a

stance toward diversity itself, toward the existence of cultures in the individual experience. A more genuine cosmopolitanism is first an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other.” I will conclude by stating that a cosmopolitan orientation entails different engagements that do not necessarily relate to an embodied Other.

Jaakson’s (2004, 175) categorization tries to grasp these different modes of travelling. Drawing upon how my informants define their way of travelling, it could be said, as both Jaakson (2004) and O’Reilly (2005, 153-154) argue, that they would fit in the category of contrast seekers. For example, Mieke from the vignette, was teaching yoga lessons in Australia. When I spoke with Mieke, she told me she had been travelling for three and a half years. During her travels, she stated that in addition to working, she “... met a lot of people and I was always looking to really live with the ‘locals’ instead of just moving from one place to another.” Furthermore, because of this aspiration she usually lived in one place for a couple of months to: “discover what those *hidden gems* are and get real connections with people.” Like Mieke, most travellers I spoke to do not have a home base anymore and consider themselves long-term travellers; for many informants travelling is a lifestyle. Other definitions used by my informants are ‘nomad’ or ‘digital nomad’. Even though there is a variety in terms of travelling, there are some univocal ideas related to travelling and travelling as a lifestyle.

In travelling or living as a nomad, mainstream tourism is rejected. Travelling is related to a sense of freedom instead of planning, a better way of life, and often comes with a critical perspective towards their former lives back home. Having no plans or only making short-term plans in a travelling lifestyle is emphasized by my informants. Thus, by living in other places, being a traveller entails this cosmopolitan orientation of a willingness to engage with people, places and practices that are ‘unknown’. Informants indeed mention that travelling is about looking for non-touristic places, discovering hidden gems and spending more time in one place to get a feeling of local life. Though, Jaakson (2004, 175) fairly states that these categories may overlap as well. I indeed will argue that travellers, in their practices, also look for familiarity, thus fitting in the category of ‘contrast avoiders’ too. Inherently to Jaakson’s (2004) category of the ‘contrast seeker’, just as a cosmopolitan orientation entails, there is this will to seek and experience something other than ‘home’ or what is ‘known’.

This is for example expressed in an eagerness to engage with other travellers in Arambol and the ideas travellers relate to Arambol (and Goa). Jacob, a nomad for the United States, expressed his image of Arambol as: “A universal airport where a lot of different characters from all around the world land for a short time. You can explore yourself; you can explore many different arts to see what you like. And now because of Arambol I have friends

from all around the world.” In using the term ‘universal airport’ he depicts Arambol as a cosmopolitan space and like other participants. Additionally, he now has friends from ‘all over the world’, thereby positioning himself in the world in relation with other travellers as a kind of community. Arambol can generally be considered a cosmopolitan space. As described in the vignette, people talk in different languages, music from all over the world is played in the hostel. In addition, all the other cafés, restaurants, beach shacks and venues provide spaces in Arambol where people encounter each other, where tourism workers encounter travellers and where travellers meet other travellers from different nationalities and different backgrounds.

Cosmopolitanism is thus about an engagement with the other. In tourism studies ‘the other’ has long been perceived as ‘the host’ or ‘the local’ (Leite and Swain 2015). Urry (1996) identified this as the quest for authenticity in ‘other times’ and ‘other places’, which relates to certain ideas of Otherness and cross-cultural interactions. However, when I asked travellers the question whether they hang out with ‘local’ people, by which I meant Goans, I had to explain what I meant with ‘local’. In their answers, they related ‘local’ to all Indians and so they often mentioned the hostel owners, their former spiritual or yoga teacher and sometimes domestic travellers. David however stated that: “I like to spend my time with other travellers as I feel more connected to them. So, I’m like: ‘why should I spend my time with locals as there are so many more travellers with whom I have better connections to?’ I’m not looking for a local way of life or something.” David was not the only participant who mentions that they rather engage with other travellers, in similar way Manuel stated: “While I’m travelling, I always search for people and places to feel at home.” Thus, on the one hand my informants mention that they look for Otherness, while at the same time they want to find connections to people who are familiar and places that feel like ‘home’. This is in contrast with travellers as contrast seekers, as many have a cosmopolitan orientation and engage with the ‘unknown other’ as ‘local’ or ‘host’. By transcending this binary of the other as the ‘local’ (Leite and Swain 2015), I raise the question of who the Other is with whom there is a willingness to engage with?

I argue that cosmopolitanism is more than a cross-cultural encounter with the embodied Other or ‘local’, as it is also about ‘other travellers’ and ‘other practices’. However, cosmopolitan practices, especially when considering travelling as a lifestyle, relates to aesthetics and consumptions of Otherness (Haldrup 2009, 59). This becomes evident in practices and ideas of Arambol among travellers, but even more so in ideas of India (on which I will elaborate in the next paragraph). For example, Mieke and many other travellers, came to

Arambol for a yoga course.<sup>15</sup> Like Mieke, Ryan, a traveller from Canada, said that in Arambol: “There is much space for spirituality, and you can discover a lot.” Thus, there still is this willingness to engage in Other practices. What we have seen in throughout this paragraph is that there is a tension between travellers as contrast seekers, and as contrast avoiders. There is a cosmopolitan aspiration to engage with people ‘unknown’ and other practices. However, it does not necessarily entail an engagement with ‘locals’ or a ‘local way of life’. In the next paragraph, I will carry forward this argument of seeking differences and familiarity in Arambol, which shows a tension between Orientalism and cosmopolitanism in travellers’ practices and ideas.

### **Orientalist cosmopolitanism – Imaginaries of India**

In this paragraph I will argue that the concept of cosmopolitanism entails an orientation towards Otherness, which is embedded in an Orientalist discourse. This means that there is a continuing negotiation between engaging and essentializing the Other, shifting between hybridized and essentialized imaginaries. A hybridization of practices emerges in how travellers often continue with activities perceived to be other while travelling, as they are practiced at home as well, transcending a specific situatedness of Otherness. First of all, these essentializing images are present in travellers’ ideas of India, which the following ethnographic account highlights:

“I came to India because it has been the motherland of mystics, masters and meditation for thousands of years.” Jacob speaks slowly while he is sitting crossed legged, breathing out some smoke he just inhaled from the joint he is holding. We are in the restaurant Garden of Dreams, owned by a British man employing travellers, Goans and Indian tourism workers. We are sitting on pillows on the ground around a table made of stone while I am conducting an interview. Jacob continues saying: “and I was looking for one of these mystics or masters.”

Jacob expresses that he first came to India because of the idea that he could find a mystic there, while ascribing India in mystical (and spiritual) qualities. Many scholars have related these mystical qualities to Orientalism and tourism in the global-South.<sup>16</sup> For example, Picard (2011,

---

<sup>15</sup> During my researched many informants expressed coming to Arambol for yoga or they mentioned they heard that Arambol has a great variety in different spiritual practices, a contact dancing ‘scene’ or attracts a lot of musicians.

<sup>16</sup> For example: Michael Haldrup (2016) in “Banal tourism? Between cosmopolitanism and Orientalism,” or Helene Snee (2013) in “Framing the Other: cosmopolitanism and the representation of difference in overseas gap year narratives.”

6) argued that today's reasons for tourism to the global-South are still informed by the attribution of mystic qualities and powers, developed in cross-cultural encounters, to Others or other places. The cosmopolitan orientation of my informants often goes hand in hand with Orientalist tropes. These tropes are embedded in Orientalism (Said 2010), which relate to a discourse based on creating an opposition between oneself and the Other. With this, Western oriental scholars denied the Orient any complexity, implicitly justifying Western imperialism, supremacy and the power of depicting the Orient (Said 2010, 40-182). Furthermore, Said's (2010) notion of latent Orientalism ascribes to the Oriental a certain mystification and unknowability. This is expressed in imaginaries, which come, among others, in the form of "worldviews, fantasies, images, discourses, and stereotypes"<sup>17</sup> (Leite 2014, 261). Different scholars (Salazar 2012; Leite 2014; Swain 2014) have related this to ideas of the oriental and 'the Other' in tourism. For example, Haldrup (2009, 59) states: "that explicit cosmopolitanism is not necessarily incompatible with practicing Orientalism in the ordinary encounters with people and places on holiday." This means that the cosmopolitan orientation towards the other is embedded in structures of Orientalism.

This is shown in travellers' imaginaries of India, which tend to be essentializing. For example, many informants relate India to an image of spirituality, nature (but also culture), tradition, safe/unsafe and senses/feelings.<sup>18</sup> Jack states for example: "I like the Indian people, they got good energy and are happy." Likewise, Ryan remarks: "Think about the kindness of the Hindu tradition and how they believe my guest is my God, be good to my neighbour, be good to another is the core value." In these remarks, as well as the travellers' involvement in different kinds of spiritual practices in Arambol, it shows how a perception of Indian people relates to an idea of India being equivalent with Hinduism or at least a certain idea of Hinduism. This idea excludes other religious practices and minorities living in India such as Muslims and Christians. These images show how an orientation towards Otherness is related to one particular and often an essentialized idea of the other. However, it does not mean that Otherness is bound to a certain location. For example, Markus states that he was practicing yoga in Berlin and went to India because he wanted to: "explore what yoga is like and I wanted to do more

---

<sup>17</sup> Based on Leite's (2014, 261) formulations of 'imaginaries': "Imaginaries in tourism can come in the form of: "worldviews, fantasies, images, discourses, and stereotypes, cultural frameworks for interaction with others (and Others), imaginings and expectations of the individual tourist, a globally disseminated tourist images of a particular place, the self-consciousness collective identity of a 'host' population, and the beliefs tourist hold about locals – and vice versa".

<sup>18</sup> This is for example expressed in that my informants often tell they perceived India to be dirty and unsafe. For some participants this was a reason to only travel in Goa, as it is more 'Westernized'.



yoga and so India is the best place to be for that.” Markus thus mentioned that he already started with yoga in Berlin, with a practice he further develops in India. Both the concept of cosmopolitanism and Orientalism relate to a stance towards Otherness. In order to see how Otherness is not only located in India it is important to see how this is subjected to hybridization.

Following Bhabha’s (2004) notion of hybridity, he relates this to how cultures only derive their meaning from other cultures, which inevitably shapes cultures in relation with one another. This means that it becomes rather difficult to point out a single source of cultural purity. Translating this to the notion of Otherness, it becomes difficult to point out a particular other as well. In similar fashion Appiah (1996, 22) argues in his notion of cosmopolitanism that there is: “not another purely unknown”. Encouraging us not to think of our encounters in the dichotomy of known and unknown, which indeed becomes complicated in hybrid places like Arambol. This is shown in travellers' ideas and (consumption) practices of Otherness in Arambol and ‘home’. In this next ethnographic account, I illustrate a daily routine and elaborate on the situatedness of Otherness:

“I got up this morning at 8 am to attend the drop-in yoga class. After that I met up with Rachel for coffee.” Emma says, while we are floating in the pool underneath the shades of the palm trees at the Riva Beach Resort party. I asked her to describe her daily activities. She continues: “And then I went home to eat a mango, took a nap and now I’m here at the party.”

Every Sunday during the tourist season in Arambol there is a reggae party in a beach resort. Emma just got back earlier this week from a vipassana<sup>19</sup> outside Goa. During her three months stay in Arambol she did a meditative massage course as well. Emma has been travelling for a couple years and started with practicing yoga in a hostel in Australia. Like Emma, Mieke mentions that she was already practicing yoga in the Netherlands. It was only when she came to India that she discovered: “the spiritual layers of yoga.” These everyday practices of travellers involve going to parties, concerts, hanging out in (vegan) café’s with other travellers, doing yoga or eating ‘exotic’ food.<sup>20</sup> Edensor (2000, 328-329) argues that these enclavic spaces as Arambol focus on the selling of “exotic and traditional” ware and souvenirs and, in Arambol, providing spiritual courses and workshops. These consumptions of Otherness are forms of what

---

<sup>19</sup> A vipassana is a ten-day retreat based on meditation in silence. During these ten-days, you are not allowed to talk, you hand in your phone and cannot read or write (this is partly based on travellers I spoke and their experiences and explanations of ‘vipassana’).

<sup>20</sup> See the pictures on the next page, for examples of activities in Arambol.

Haldrup (2009) calls ‘banal cosmopolitanisms’. In relation to travellers' practices this surrounds activities perceived to be other, which is found in these enclavic spaces. Travellers listen for example to Sufi or classical Indian music in Arambol, practice yoga (or other spiritualities) and drink coffee in European looking cafés.<sup>21</sup>



(Flyers of different activities in Arambol)

However, Markus, just like and Emma and Mieke, states that he was living in Berlin when he started with yoga and ecstatic dancing,<sup>22</sup> which was one of his reasons for coming to Arambol as well. In addition, he said: “Now a lot of my friends are doing yoga, are vegetarians, drink less alcohol and don’t take drugs. It is kind of a trend now in Berlin.” It was when Markus made this remark during the interview, that I began to question how Other this Otherness is as they continue with the same activities at home, as these activities come with a certain

<sup>21</sup> See picture of the Garden of Dreams on page 45.

<sup>22</sup> Ecstatic dancing is a form of dancing without shoes, drugs and alcohol, talking and touching. In Arambol this happened two or three times a week in the Source. I went along with some informants a couple times: they experienced it as a “safe space to dance” and mentioned it to be “meditative, without using drugs or alcohol”. For an impression of ecstatic dance in Arambol see: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R7nRHkMChbI>

familiarity as well. In this way it becomes rather complex to state that enclavic spaces solely rely on a consumption of Otherness, which is especially voiced in how tourism workers frame these activities as 'Western', as Melanie argues in the following chapters. I argue that in relation to Bhabha's notion hybridization, Arambol is one place where boundaries between what is known, and unknown become blurred and are mutually constituted. Hybridity, on an individual level, refers to this third-space in-between 'cultures' which translate to both being the same as well as different (Bhabha 2004, 4). This gives these cultural differences a more nuanced, though complex, understanding of this mutuality of traveller ideas and practices. Though it is rather difficult to point to a specific situatedness of Otherness, this does not mean that it transcends Orientalism or other privileges (on which I will elaborate in the next paragraph).

This cosmopolitan orientation among travellers is thus often framed by the search for and engagement with the Other. Moreover, it is subjected to essentializing imaginaries and a hybridization of certain practices, providing this constant negotiation between being the same and different and between what is known and unknown. However, one question remains: why do travellers search for these perceived notions of Otherness? To answer this question, one more aspect should be brought forward: many of my informants also relate their lifestyle to a search of 'another way of life'. Travellers' motivations for travelling lies not only in the search of the other, but in the search for the self as well.

### **The construction of the Self – Imaginaries of the West**

Leah has been in Arambol for two months and will stay until the end of the season. She is 36 years old and comes from Germany where she lived until December 2018. In Germany, she was in the process of becoming a psychotherapist, working with children and teenagers. She loved her job, but it was a hard job as well. Last year she was diagnosed with a burn-out, which made her stop this process to travel. When she came back, she decided to quit her job and save money for long-term travelling. Now, like many travellers, she has no 'home base' and prepared to travel for at least one year in India. As she says she is "... on travels, but not on a sightseeing trip," she is travelling to find a new profession. Leah stayed in Arambol for the past months as she started an astrology course, which she feels might offer her a potential new profession.

Quitting a job and wanting to find something different like Leah, is for many travellers a motivation for travelling. Jacob was looking for a mystic or master after he dropped out of

college, Mieke went looking for happiness after dealing with a depression and David wanted to explore something more interesting than 'First World' countries to travel. Leah and other informants give travelling an existential character, meaning that they often search for other ways to live, and for who they are, along the way. For example, this is done by looking for a new profession, spiritual knowledge or as Josh states: "Travelling is living." For them, this is related to their former lives in the West, because travelling as lifestyle relates to a sense of freedom, a better way of life, and often comes with a critical perspective towards their former lives in the West. Drawing on the previous paragraphs, I will argue that in between this dialectic search of Otherness and familiarity, travelling is a quest for the self as well, which should be situated in imaginaries of the West. Firstly, I will argue that the changes travellers experience enables them to reflect on their own 'culture' and emphasize travellers' cosmopolitan identity. Secondly, I argue that the search for an alternative way of living reflect imaginaries of the West. These imaginaries of the West and the search for Otherness are related to the construction of the self, because travellers look for 'themselves' through encountering Otherness. Lastly, I will situate these aspects in relation to their privileged abilities to engage with Otherness.

First of all, the search for change and authenticity<sup>23</sup> is still an important aspect of travellers' experiences. This becomes evident in how informants speak of changes through travelling and not 'fitting in' with their former society:

"When you are travelling, you spend so much time with other nationalities, you want to hold on to that and these differences makes you feel at home. By living in other places, you become different because you learn different ways of living." Isabella says while she is taking a sip from her chai tea. It is around 10 a.m. and we are sitting in Mandhi Mehal with Lucas, slowly eating our parathas.

Isabella is from Spain but has been living in different cities for the past ten years. She states that because of travelling she is so used to 'differences' that she cannot live very long in the same place. Like most travellers I spoke to, Isabella too had no home base at the moment. While in India, she is trying to figure out where she would like to live. Hannerz (1990, 248) notes that real cosmopolitans may never feel 'home' again in the way that 'locals' do. With this he means that a cosmopolitan has a different view and a certain autonomy on his 'local culture', because of the experiences and knowledge gained by travelling. Isabella expressed

---

<sup>23</sup> Here I mean change in relation to another way of life opposed to Western life (and norms and values) and authenticity in relation to an authentic self and an 'authentic' other.

that she does not feel home anymore in Spain and with Spanish people because of travelling. Like Isabelle, Jack, a nomad from Alaska, mentioned that because of travelling:

You get out in the world and meet other people from other countries. You cannot help to compare your country and the people that live in your country with other countries and the way they live and how they act. So, I realized that my country has too much tensions, too many restrictions in many ways. Almost like we are supposed to act in certain ways, behave a certain way. So, when I came back [from travelling] I realized that we in the United States have too many assholes. But then people too, I'm sure, want to live a better life and realize things. But the thing is you can't realize things unless you travel. Unless you go to other countries and meet other people. Learn different cultures and ways of being. That is one of the reasons that I wanted to go places like Brazil and Thailand to find family.

Jack expresses this need of travelling in order to change and claims his cosmopolitan autonomy by reflecting on his own 'culture' (Hannerz 1990, 248). Furthermore, in line with Hannerz' (1990, 248) notion that cosmopolitans may never feel 'home' again, Isabella and other informants mention that they do not 'fit in' anymore in their former countries. What is apparent when I asked my informants if they changed because of travelling, all answers referred to 'the Western lifestyle', which they described in the same terminology. The terms used to describe this entail working from 9 to 5, same routines, materialistic, a 'civil' lifestyle and a structured and restricted system. Hence, learning from differences, this cosmopolitan search of Otherness enables a reflection on their own way of life. However, it is not only this search for Otherness, as I have shown that travelling is subjected to existential questions as well.

Mossière (2016, 74) writes in her article about the growing popularity in the West of spiritual retreats. She relates this 'movement towards the self' to the success stories of spirituality in the West as "epiphenomenon of the current *malaise de civilisation*", meaning that this movement is a kind of by-product of the perceived imaginaries of the West. This relates to Occidentalist images of the West as non-spiritual, materialistic and individualist (Bloch 2017). For travellers, these perceived notions motivate the quest for spirituality and self-development, the quest for Otherness. Although it is not always a spiritual quest among my informants, as I have shown that travelling can also be a search for another way of life. Or as Mossière (2016, 74) formulates: "encountering Otherness to unveil the self". For example, Leah states that because of travelling:

I am starting to become closer to who I am. Each time I travelled and now especially here I am losing fears. In Germany, I am based in the system that is based and structured by fears. Fears as in: 'oh, what should I do in the future' or 'will I ever find a way to make money and enjoy it'. I think the German system and I is not a good match.

Travelling enables a certain experience of 'freedom', which revolves around the structures of work, leisure, self-development and for some around spirituality, which is to be found somewhere in between the self and the other. Jacob says that because of travelling he could let go of: "Behaving in a way that is acceptable to society but maybe that is not authentic to the individual." Travelling enables him to: "be authentic, you do what you feel." As Mossière (2016, 75) mentioned, 'authenticity', as described by Jacob, is a quest to reach "one's true essence and originality" in order to accomplish the self. Often this ideal is met by encountering Otherness. Mieke, just like Leah, was dealing with mental problems in the Netherlands and started to travel to discover herself. As such, she mentions travelling to be a "spiritual journey". As aforementioned, travellers' imaginaries of India often relate to spirituality as well. This is also true for Mieke, who came to India for yoga. While I acknowledge that these spiritual journeys reflect privileges as well, I will first elaborate on travellers' imaginaries of the West, showing a dialectic process of situating Otherness.

Salazar and Graburn (2014) argued that encounters of Otherness draw on imaginaries where the embodied and spiritual Other offers an alternative to Western life. 'The West' in Occidental imaginaries involves negative connotations of individualism, materialism and a loss of spirituality (Mossière 2016, 74; Nair-Venugopal 2012, 43). These associations of the West Leah, for example, expresses in relation to her imaginary of India:

In Germany, with dropping the religion, they dropped belief as well. Many people are within the individualism very alone and not very connected with nature and not with each other. It is not cultural lived, there are no rituals. Even if you don't believe in Hinduism you still have the beautiful and colorful stories. You can still do some traditions because it is part of the culture as well. The music is still so alive. I like the fusion. Most Indians I have met [in Arambol] carry this kind of belief and spirituality with them, but at the same time they are looking for liberation in their relationships. They don't want the arranged marriages anymore; they want to get out of the caste system and strive for human rights. And these people come here to Arambol to create something new.

Indeed, as Mossière (2016, 74) states, a certain fixed identity is ascribed upon the Other as they are: “supposed to offer an alternative lifestyle that is deemed authentic because it is outside the realm of Western modernity”. In this instance it relates to an idea of ‘authentic’ Indianness based on spirituality. Hence, this is embedded in Orientalism by creating an opposition between oneself and the Other (Said 2010). As I mentioned, the ability to search for the self and another way of life is often related to (Western) work and leisure structures, which lays bare the unequal power structures at play. In line with this, Mossière (2016, 74) mentions that these individual (spiritual) quests depict a world of mobility and migration where “expatriates in foreign countries” are creating niches, like Arambol, where there are all kinds of spiritual resources available.<sup>24</sup> In addition, this quest of Otherness is a longing for mostly Western people of a privileged socio-economic class, which (most) Western travellers are part of (Hannerz 1996; Mossière 2016, 75). Hannerz (2007, 83) as well argued that although cosmopolitanism is about the idea of the world as one, there is a reality of a world that is structured in inequalities. A travelling lifestyle requires “the material means, technological skills, and social capital to travel”, which are often only accessible to a privileged socio-economic class (Mossière 2016, 74).

These necessary privileges become evident in travellers' possibilities to work and travel. For example, David, a digital nomad from Canada, states: “Because of the economic structures in Canada and in India, it doesn’t make sense to work in India. So, I have to get all my work done in Canada, which means that my life there is my work life and I have a none-work life in India.” David often works in Canada for a while to save money and then travels to South East Asia to live and not have to work, as he is then rich enough to survive. Although, David reflected on his economic privileges he, like many other travellers, did not reflect on privileges that come with ethnicity and race.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, this shows that though a cosmopolitan may never feel ‘home’ again, it does not mean that the cosmopolitan completely disengages from his own local and national identity for a more cultural hybrid identity. Translating this to the practices and experiences of travellers, though opposing the West, one still embodies these privileges. This enables one to have a ‘non-working’ life of travelling in India, or in this instance, Arambol.

---

<sup>24</sup> These spiritual resources include for example: yoga drop-in classes, mediation and breathing courses, tantric yoga, shamanic breathing and cacao-ceremonies. See for more information the picture with flyers on page

<sup>25</sup> This stance in contrast with Melanie’s informants’ experiences with racism and being stereotyped. In addition, these stereotypes relate to structures of Orientalism and travellers’ imaginaries.

## **Conclusion**

Through encountering Otherness, my informants relate to a cosmopolitan identity performance, which based on Hannerz' (2007) notion of cosmopolitanism entails a willingness to engage with others. However, what, who or where the other is, is a constant negotiation between differences and familiarities. First of all, my informants experience a willingness to engage with travellers from different nationalities, while at the same time they feel a certain 'home' and sense of familiarity in this community of travellers. Additionally, Otherness is based on certain notions about India, which in the experiences of travellers often relate to spirituality. These notions are embedded in Orientalism, in which spirituality is equated to Hindu practices such as yoga. Both cosmopolitanism and Orientalism involve Otherness. However, situating this Otherness is rather complex: for example, many informants already practiced yoga back home. Furthermore, for travellers, Otherness is often a part of their search for an alternative to their Western lifestyles. Though Arambol provides this hybrid space in between different 'cultures' and identities, living a travellers' lifestyle is bound up in Orientalism and requires privileges exclusive to certain socio-economic classes. In Arambol, travellers live for a while, (re)construct their imaginaries of India and the West, try to discover who they are and then continue on their journeys.



## Introduction

In the following empirical chapters, I will analyse the cosmopolitan identity performance of different groups of tourism workers (specifically, yoga- and martial arts teachers, restaurant and shack employees and hostel owners) and illuminate the ways in which this cosmopolitan identity performance is informed by (essentializing) imaginaries of the West as well as the East. Just as Western travellers, most tourism workers come to Goa because they aspire a 'travelling' lifestyle. Although Hannerz (1990) elaborates on the connection between cosmopolitanism and travelling as a lifestyle, he states that cosmopolitanism or specifically, a cosmopolitan identity, can only be achieved by White Western elites (Salazar 2010, 62).<sup>26</sup> This view has been criticized by several scholars, and, as a response to this, these scholars called for particularized accounts of non-elite 'discrepant cosmopolitanisms' (Salazar 2020, 62).

Therefore, in the first chapter, I will provide such a particularized account, by elaborating on the ways in which tourism workers in Arambol construct and perform a cosmopolitan identity in relation to their encounter with (mostly) Western travellers. I will argue that tourism workers have become 'classic' cosmopolitans as they, through constant engagement with (what they perceive as) Western Others are partly disengaged with their 'own' culture while increasingly engaged with aspects of Other cultures. However, I will also show that, although tourism workers may identify as cosmopolitans, they are often seen as 'locals' and have to deal with racism and stereotypes, therefore I will shed light on the ways in which cosmopolitanism as a lived experience is marked by certain power structures. In the second chapter, I will reflect on imaginaries and perceptions tourism workers have of the West and illuminate how these imaginaries are used to (re)construct and perform a 'traditional' but rather exclusivist Hindu (national) identity that connects to traveller's imaginaries of the East and furthermore, is commercialized for the tourism industry. Therefore, by reflecting on both cosmopolitan identification as well as national (local) identification, I will show that in Arambol, cosmopolitan and more 'local' ways of identifying are not mutually exclusive but actually reinforce each other and processes of hybridity go hand in hand with the reinforcement of 'static' ideas of culture.

---

<sup>26</sup> This view is based on Hannerz distinction between the local and the (prototype) cosmopolitan in which the cosmopolitan is modern and mobile and hence, moves around the world and the local is rooted in his "own" culture and therefore, timeless and traditional. The former is more or less associated with white, Western travellers while the latter is associated with the immobile native. For more information on the local/global distinction read Ulf Hannerz. 1990. "Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture." *Theory Culture Society* 7: 237-251. In particular read pages 246-249.

## Chapter 4: Tourism workers as world citizens

Nikhil is a 29-year-old yoga-teacher from Mumbai. After working in the corporate sector for a few years, he realized he was not feeling happy. Working in a big city, where he was just working to make a lot of money in order to spend a lot of money was not fulfilling for him and hence, he decided to radically change his life and become a yoga teacher. Eventually, an opportunity came up to work as a yoga-teacher in Arambol, which he took with both hands as it meant he could move away from the city and practice his new passion at a beautiful place next to the sea.

This rather radical break away from a certain (corporate) lifestyle in the city in order to do something that is experienced as more fulfilling is very common among Indian teachers in the tourism industry in Arambol. For most of these teachers, travelling becomes a distinct feature of their lives, as they can practically teach everywhere. For example, Nikhil stated ‘‘Last year I was in Bali, so that’s the advantage of being a yoga-teacher, you can get anywhere in the world’’. Moreover, for tourism workers who work in restaurants or shacks, travelling likewise is an important feature in their life. Even though they often do not have the financial means to travel internationally, most of them expressed that they do not feel the need to travel because, when they are in Goa, ‘‘the world comes to them.’’ In earlier publications on non-elite cosmopolitanism and tourism workers, scholars have mainly analysed how cross-cultural encounters with tourists or travellers has resulted in cross-cultural awareness or the obtainment of cosmopolitan competence that is then applied to their work in the tourism industry (Salazar 2010; Picard 2011; Notar 2008). Though I agree that this ‘cosmopolitan competence’ is an important part of the cosmopolitan experience of tourism providers, I would argue that in relation to tourism workers in Arambol, solely looking at that aspect over-emphasizes the importance of the ‘travellers demand’ in the construction and performance of a cosmopolitan identity and would fail to include other important aspects of tourism worker’s cosmopolitan identification.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, when I asked my informants why they came to work in Goa, tourism workers gave me reasons that extended far beyond just the opportunity to make money. For example, many Indian tourism workers that I interviewed literally expressed that the encounter

---

<sup>27</sup> Due to the size of this thesis I am not able to elaborate on the obtainment of ‘cosmopolitan competence’ by tourism workers in Arambol. However, in some of my interviews with Indian yoga and martial arts teachers they, for example, explained to me that they adjust their classes to different groups of people from different countries and hence were not only aware of cultural differences but also knew how to navigate those cultural differences to make travellers feel at ease in their classes. This resembles the idea cosmopolitan competence, on which we have elaborated in our theoretical framework.

with people from other cultures was why they wanted to work and stay in Arambol. Dinesh, a yoga and meditation teacher stated that ‘‘advantages of staying in Arambol are such that we can come across all the countries and the languages and the foods, come across and meeting all these people, it is interesting to see what they do in daily life, what kind of practices they do’’. In addition, Mohan, another yoga-teacher stated that what he loves about staying in Arambol is ‘‘that you get to meet people from all over the world’’.<sup>28</sup> Also, Karan, a young boy from a small village in the mountains, came to Arambol because his uncle told him that in Goa ‘‘you can go and explore the world’’. Hence, it was not only economic opportunities that brought these tourism workers to Arambol, but also the opportunity to have cross-cultural contact and live, as I have mentioned before, a ‘travelling’ kind of lifestyle.

The performance of a cosmopolitan identity is also shown in the way tourism workers engage in ‘banal’ or ‘mundane’ cosmopolitanisms.<sup>29</sup> As aforementioned by Joanne, Arambol can be seen as an ‘enclavic’ space in which travellers can both engage with the Other and Other practices as well as find familiarity. This familiarity can for example, be seen through the big amount of café’s, restaurants and party places that are catered to Western travellers and thus look rather Western in their style, serve mostly European food and drinks (like croissants and cappuccinos) and also serve alcohol. But, at the same time, these places also incorporate certain ‘traditional’ Indian features, for example by playing Indian classical music and by decorating the walls with Hindu Gods and mythology. Therefore, Arambol in general can be seen as a very hybrid and cosmopolitan space, where different ‘cultures’ meet. Tourism workers just like travellers engage actively in ‘banal’ cosmopolitanisms, as they often eat, relax and party at the same places as travellers do. For example, my informants, just like Joanne’s informants, visit concerts of all kinds of different music styles (from all over the world). In addition, they sometimes participate in activities like ecstatic dancing, shamanic breathing or yoga- and meditation.<sup>30</sup> However, what is familiar for Western travellers, is seen by tourism workers as ‘different’ or Other. Most of my informants, referred to Arambol, and Goa in general as ‘Western’ or ‘Westernized’ space. For example, Sindhu stated that Goa ‘‘is a different, open-

---

<sup>28</sup> Although in these accounts tourism workers speak of the encounter with ‘‘people all over the world’’, most of the tourism workers I spoke to mostly referred to travellers as ‘foreigners’ with which they meant people from ‘the West’. Hence, if I speak of the encounter with the Other and Other practices it refers to the encounter with the tourism workers emic description of Western travellers and practices from the West.

<sup>29</sup> As aforementioned in our theoretical framework, ‘banal cosmopolitanisms’ refer to the day-to-day consumption of and engagement with Other goods and practices.

<sup>30</sup> However, it must be noted that they do not have the same access to these activities as Westerners do, something on which I will elaborate further at the end of this chapter.

mindful zone” where people come “find spirituality but also drink and do drugs.” In addition, Sanjan called Goa different from the rest of India, he said it was more of a “party place.” Hence, it can be said that what is familiar for most Western travellers should be seen as cosmopolitan engagement with the Other for most of the Indian tourism workers.



### **Cosmopolitan identity**

The abovementioned shows how banal cosmopolitanisms are performed through consumption practices and activities. But how does working in Arambol translate into the construction of a cosmopolitan identity beyond just engaging with Others as well as Other practices? As shown in the paragraph above, Arambol provides a cosmopolitan space par excellence, since there is constant cross-cultural contact. Thus, it could be seen as a kind of third-space. According to Bhabha (2004) a third-space is a sort of ‘liminal’ space in-between cultures, where cultural identities are constructed, translated and mediated. It is within this space that tourism workers, just like travellers, construct a personal identity that might be partially constituted through appropriation from a variety of cultural forms (Cohen 2010, 296). For tourism workers, this appropriation leads to a certain change. Hannerz (1990, 448) notes about cosmopolitans that “they might never feel quite at home again”. These sentiments can be seen with tourism workers as well. For them, the change they have gone through while working in the tourism industry can change their connection with friends and family back home, because they have different values and ways of living that make them feel somewhat “out of the ordinary”. There are many examples of this. First of all, all tourism workers I spoke to mentioned that their job was in some way not an ordinary or regular job. For example, Ravi mentioned that people from his village do not really understand what he is doing in Goa and what his life is like. He mentioned some older people just think he is partying all day, while younger people are usually jealous of him. In addition, the hostel-owners of the hostel I stayed in told me their parents do

not really understand the kind of work that they do. One of them even mentioned that his family had come to see the hostel and intended to stay for a few days. Instead, they left a few hours after arriving at the hostel. However, it must be noted that this does not mean that tourism workers are completely ‘uprooted’ from their ‘local life’. The change should be seen more as the gain of a certain autonomy vis-à-vis their ‘own’ culture (Hannerz 1990, 248) as they can choose to actively engage or disengage with it. For example, Sindhu noted that:

I was stuck in their perspective, of my parents, and friends. My friends and parents look at me like I’m lost, but I know what I am doing. At least I can do this stuff that they can’t even think of doing. And to be like them and look like them is a matter of minutes, I just cut my hair and put different clothes on, like nice clothes. But for them to become like me is close to impossible because their life has taken them too far in that zone.

In addition, Dinesh states: “I have learned the values of both cultures, so I can be intimate with both of them.” Therefore, it is clear that although the incorporation of different cultural aspects, norms and values creates a certain gap between tourism worker’s friends and family ‘back home’, it is not the case that they are completely disengaged with life back home. Rather, they become more reflective of certain aspects of their ‘home culture’ and, through their familiarization with another culture, gain agency over their own cultural identity.

### **Critical cosmopolitanism**

In the paragraphs above I have shown that tourism workers, just as travellers, should be seen as cosmopolitans. Although cosmopolitanism proves to be an adequate concept for studying the identity performance of tourism workers, a few comments should be made. As noted by Macrae (2016, 26) an emergent theme (in academic discussion) has been the “‘extent to which ethnic and cultural diversity lead to genuine communication and sharing of physical space, social interaction and cultural exchange between different groups’”. When looking at definitions of cosmopolitanism, the term often has a very positive connotation. For example, cosmopolitanism has been defined as an “‘appreciation of cultural diversity’” (Hannerz 1990, 1), “‘an openness towards Other cultures’” (Macrae 2016, 26). However, when studying cosmopolitanism in relation to non-elites, it is important to pay critical attention to the cultural and structural power relations that mark cosmopolitanism as a lived experience. As aforementioned, tourism workers are partly disengaged from their ‘own’ culture due to their

travelling lifestyle and their constant cross-cultural engagement. For example, Sindhu stated that he “feels more universal than Indian” and Dinesh stated that he considers himself to be “more similar to foreigners”. Nonetheless, there is a clear incongruity between this cosmopolitan self-identification and the way tourism workers are perceived by travellers and tourists. Although most tourism workers do not see themselves as conservative or “typically Indian”, they sometimes do get treated like that by foreign tourists. For example, Sharath stated that foreigners often treat him like a ‘local’ and ask him a lot of ‘local’ questions about Indian religion or Indian people, which is something he really dislikes, as he does not consider himself to be a ‘local’. In addition, Prashant stated that “they [foreigners] want to talk and want to know what I am doing, where I am from, about Yoga, how Yoga works and how my life is here you know, you keep telling the same story, its repetition you know, it gets boring.” This shows that, although tourism workers may implicitly identify as cosmopolitan, they still have to negotiate their perceived ‘localness’.

In addition, tourism workers, who are perceived as ‘locals’ sometimes face racism or are being stereotyped.<sup>31</sup> During conversations I had with Heena and Kiran and their friends (who also worked in the tourism industry) the topic of racism was often discussed. During these conversations, they mentioned a lot of instances where they were denied access to certain activities because they were Indian. For example, they said that they wanted to volunteer for the ‘Arambol Carnival’, which is an event organized by foreigners. However, although they allow a lot of European volunteers, they told Heena and Kiran they could not help with anything. For them, it was obvious that this had to do with the fact that they were Indian, as it is not the first time they had gone through this. Moreover, both Indian teachers and restaurant and shack employees mentioned that foreigners sometimes essentialize them. For example, Dinesh stated that if Indians do not really act like foreigners, tourists tend to misunderstand them. He said, foreigners are always ‘questioning Indians’. In addition, almost all of my informants mentioned that Indian men are always seen as “overly sexual” or rapists, which they strongly disliked. Considering the aforementioned issues, it is important to move beyond cosmopolitanism as an ‘ideal’ and critically reflect on power relations that are still at play in the tourism industry.

## **Chapter 5: Imaginaries and the enactment of authenticity**

---

<sup>31</sup> It must be noted that not all tourism workers experienced racism in this way. In fact, a lot of my informants mentioned they had never experienced racism from foreigners, this could be due to different educational backgrounds, as most of the educated tourism workers did experience racism while most uneducated informants did not.

The concept of imaginaries has played a very important role in tourism studies. As aforementioned, imaginaries in tourism can come in the form of:

worldviews, fantasies, images, discourses, and stereotypes, cultural frameworks for interaction with others (and Others), imaginings and expectations of the individual tourist, a globally disseminated tourist images of a particular place, the self-consciousness collective identity of a ‘host’ population, and the beliefs tourist hold about locals – and vice versa (Leite 2014, 261).

In similar fashion, Salazar (2012, 866) states that tourism is part of ‘the ‘image-making industry’ in which identities of destinations and their inhabitants are endlessly reproduced for touristic goals. I want to make a few points about the use of imaginaries in studying tourism. First of all, although the concept of imaginaries has been widely adopted to study ‘the tourist gaze’ (Urry 2002) from ‘the West’ to the exoticized East, little scholarly attention has been given to the study of essentializing imaginaries of the ‘local’ about the West. Secondly, I argue that the view that the identity construction of tourism workers is based on (foreign) imaginaries and hence merely produced and sustained for (commercial) touristic goals, is overly simplistic. It does not take into consideration other important factors present in identity construction in the tourism industry such as the political and national context as well as (post) colonial realities. Hence, in line with Caton (2013, 126) I argue that instead of explaining the production of cultural imaginaries solely on the basis of commercial cultural production, it is important to analyse the role of ethnic and national identity in the consumer culture of the tourism industry. Hence, in the following paragraphs I will reflect on tourism worker’s imaginaries of the West and the importance of these imaginaries for the construction of a rather exclusivist national Indian identity vis-à-vis the West. In addition, I will elaborate on the ways in which this national identity is commercialized and ties in with Western imaginaries of India.

### **Imagining the West**

It is early morning in Arambol beach, and the sun is still rising. I have made my way to the *Lost Monk Shack* to hang out with the guys who work there. It is a rather quiet morning; a few tourists are dropping in to order some breakfast but for most of the employees there is not much to do. This gives me the opportunity to have a lengthy conversation with the manager of the shack, a 32-year-old Nepali man called Sanjan. We discuss many different things, for example, his family situation, his work in different kinds of places in Goa and the way Arambol has

changed over the years. Suddenly, he asks me if I like drinking cocktails. When I reply I do like a cocktail occasionally he says ‘‘I make cocktail, but I never tried it’’. I ask him why and he replies: My culture is similar to Indian culture, see foreigners do not have so much culture like Indian culture, they do not have so much religion. So, foreigners use drugs they drink, some Indians too because they are addicted for that but, Indian culture they do not prefer like this, the thought is quite conservative, it is not allowed like that.

In similar fashion, during a conversation with Nishant, an employee of a café called *Organic Vibes*, he specifically told me that he does not ‘‘drink alcohol, do drugs or have sexual relationships’’. He said he did not want to engage in such behavior as it is not part of traditional Indian culture. However, he also mentioned that some tourism workers do ‘‘go on a bad path’’ with which he meant using drugs, drinking alcohol and having a lot of sexual relationships. It happened quite often that tourism workers made sure that I knew they did not engage in this kind of behavior, mostly because of their religion and also because they considered it to be ‘‘bad behavior’’. What is striking however, is that tourism workers originate these kinds of cultural trends in the West and hence, view it as an ‘outside influence’ that does not belong in the Indian tradition and is therefore condemned. Sometimes these views are even literally expressed. For example, Nelson, the owner of the *Arcan Bar* mentioned that Goan youth, because of the tourists, have started behaving in ‘Westernized’ ways, such as doing drugs, smoking and drinking. He strongly disagreed with this behavior and told me that the youth in Goa nowadays does not have respect for traditional (Indian) culture.

The condemnation of these ‘Western’ cultural trends should be seen as a form of anti-westernization, that is based on certain Occidental ideas of the West. As aforementioned in the theoretical framework, Occidentalism is conjured, as argued by Nair-Venugopal (2012, 42), as a stereotyped view of the Western world and as ‘‘ideologies, attitudes, visions or images of the West developed in either the West or the non-West with reference to specific tropes, metaphors, symbols and signs’’. Specifically, as mentioned by Bloch (2017, 75), Occidentalism can come in the form of a set of negative essentializing ideas about the West. Such ideas follow processes of (what is seen as) capitalism and the separation of the church and state, and point to the West as materialistic, superficial and individualistic place where people lack spirituality, are state-dependent, disrespectful or amoral. It is clear that, anti-westernization, for restaurant and shack employees, mostly comes in the form of disapproval of what they view hedonistic and Westernized behaviors. However, different kind of (Occidental) anti-westernization stances can be seen with Indian yoga and martial-arts teachers in Arambol. In an interview I conducted



with Sindhu he mentioned that he thought that ‘‘India has become too much like the West’’. With this he meant that Indian people nowadays have become too materialistic and only care about having a new car and house. He believes that, because India has a lot of manpower, Western companies have taken over the Indian market and create a need in people’s heads. He said ‘‘before our people know they are captured in that thing; they don’t appreciate what they already have. They create that necessity in their mind. They have become materialistic.’’ In addition, Nikhil states something similar. He stated that ‘‘India is following the West’s footsteps in terms of work-culture. You know, the corporate 9-to-5 mentality. I think now it is more of a global thing. But a lot of people want to transition from this to a freer life.’’ All of my informants had a kind of negative attitude towards this process, as they saw it as a negative influence on India. Hence, it is clear that tourism workers in Arambol view India as subjected to forms of Westernization that they (personally) disapprove of. Such ideas of Westernization are based on collective essentialized imaginaries that reflect forms of Occidentalism. In order to understand how these sentiments of anti-westernization tie into the (re)construction of a national identity, it is important to look at the ideological underpinnings of these imaginaries, by situating them in a national and political context of growing Hindu-nationalism.

### **(Re)construction of a national identity**

Peleggi, as quoted by Febriani (2011, 118) states that ‘‘tourism is an arena where issues of cultural identity are related to nation-building.’ In the context of India, the ideological underpinnings of essentialized imaginaries of the West should be linked to growing Hindu-nationalism under the rule of the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP), who have been voted into power in 2014. As stated by Bloch (2017, 73) in order to win votes, the BJP ‘‘refers to a broadly understood ‘Indian nationhood’ but in practice supports the rights and hegemony of the homogenously constructed Hindu majority through its nationalist ideology’’.<sup>32</sup> An important factor in Hindu-nationalism is the construction of a so-called ‘Hindu-renaissance’. Although Hindu-nationalism and a homogenous, generalized form of Hinduism is a recent invention, Hindu-nationalists extensively use historical myths to substantiate that a homogenous Hindu community has existed since India’s early past, therefore presenting and glorifying India as a traditionally Hindu nation (Thapar 1989) and constructing a imagined community (Anderson

---

<sup>32</sup> It must be noted that all of my informants in this research are Hindu. Most of the domestic Indian migrants that work in restaurants, shacks or as teachers are Hindu, however, there are many shopkeepers in Arambol that are

1992) based on a religious identity that excludes religious minorities, for example, Muslims and Christians. As shown by Bandyopadhyay et al. (2008, 804) touristic self-representations of Indian heritage are also dominated by upper-caste Hinduism.

In my conversations and interviews with Indian teachers, the expressions of anti-Westernization were often positioned vis-à-vis traditionally Indian values and norms. Such traditional values usually resemble the kind of narratives promoted by the current Indian government in which being Indian equals being Hindu.<sup>33</sup> For example, in my interview with Dinesh, he stated that ‘‘Western people are more rational, they rely more on reason’’ however, opposed to that he stated that ‘‘[Indian] people here have more feelings, more faith, more trust because the God exists in the air. You know, everyone beliefs there is a next life, and this keeps going on, so there is more acceptance.’’ Referring to the concept of reincarnation, it is clear that Dinesh equals being Indian with believing in reincarnation, thus implicitly equalling being Indian with being either Hindu, Jain or Buddhist.<sup>34</sup> In addition, in my interview with Nikhil, he stated that the world would become a better place ‘‘if people would incorporate traditional Indian practices back into their lives, such as meditation and yoga.’’ He then specifically mentioned his support for Narendra Modi, and the BJP government for promoting such ancient Indian practices and expressed the want to contribute to this movement by ‘‘spreading the yoga philosophy.’’ Moreover, after one of the yoga-sessions with Mohan, I asked him what he likes most about teaching yoga. He then explained told me that:

We have our philosophy of Indian culture, like all the books, the Bhagavad Geeta, we have a lot of spirituality. So, I want to help everyone, I want to help people with the health. With the help you get more like, you know, connection with the people and I can share our deep knowledge about life, how to live life.

Referring to the Bhagavad Geeta,<sup>35</sup> Mohan also equals Indian culture with (Hindu) spirituality and expresses his want to share this (ancient) philosophy. Hence, I argue that Indian (yoga) teachers do not only actively engage in the spreading of ancient Indian practices in the tourism industry to meet tourist demands, but also as part of the (re)construction of a national Indian

---

<sup>33</sup> It must be noted that none of my informants were Muslim or Christian. Hence, I must acknowledge that the emphasis on the Hindu-identity is partly based on the limit of my research population.

<sup>34</sup> The concept of reincarnation is present in Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. However, it is not present in Christianity and Islam which are religions also present in India.

<sup>35</sup> The Bhagavad Geeta is an ancient Sanskrit scripture part of the Hindu epic Mahabharata. For more information on the Bhagavad Geeta read Richard H. Davis. 2014. *The Bhagavad Gita: A Biography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

identity that is more based on traditional (Hindu) values and condemns certain aspects of what they view as Western influences such as capitalism and individualism. However, these ideas on ancient Indian values exclude important realities of religious minorities, such as Christians and Muslims and thus should be seen as rather exclusionist.

### **Selling traditional ‘Indianness’**

Such construction of a (Hindu) national identity ties in smoothly with Orientalist imaginaries or the ‘tourist gaze’ of India on which Joanne has elaborated in her empirical chapter. Therefore, it is also important to look at the ways in which this national identity is commercialized and produced as a cultural ‘good’. This commercialization relates to notions of authenticity. As noted by Freidman (1997, 81) authenticity claims a certain primordial origin which relates to a ‘true essence’ and is thus based on a model of ‘culture’ as absolute and non-negotiable. This idea of a primordial origin (which as I have shown is very much part of the (re)construction of a Hindu national identity) becomes materialized in, for example, the way the Indian yoga-teachers in some ways sell a certain kind of ‘Indianness’ that resembles the traditional ‘Baba’s’.<sup>36</sup> The imaginaries many travellers have of India as traditional and spiritual are adopted by these teachers to sell their courses. This can be seen in the way they present themselves (with long hair and often in traditional clothing) and they promote themselves, for example, on Instagram. What is noticeable is the kind of ‘vibe’ created in their posts on Instagram. First of all, all Indian teachers I follow on Instagram have a ‘traditional’ Indian look, that is to say, long hair with a beard, like the traditional ‘Baba’s’. Secondly, they usually pose somewhere in pristine nature. For example, Dinesh poses on a rock in the jungle and Sindhu on the beach during sunset. Lastly, the captions under the pictures usually are quotes from Indian Guru’s or captions about how to become more spiritual. For example, Alpesh Yoga had a post about how to learn to ‘be in the present’ and Mohan had a post that said ‘Give this world good energy’. The Instagram and Facebook accounts of these teachers resemble a kind of traditional ‘Indianness’ that resembles the imaginaries and ideas of India being more spiritual and more connected to nature.

### **Conclusion**

---

<sup>36</sup> A baba is a religious person on a (usually permanent) Hindu pilgrimage specifically present in the South-Asian context.

To conclude, I have provided a ‘particularized’ account of the cosmopolitan identity performance of tourism workers in Arambol in order to contribute to the analysis of cosmopolitanism in relation to non-elites. I have shown that Arambol, as an ‘enclavic’ and familiar space for Western travellers, functions as a space of (Western) Otherness for most Indian tourism workers. Tourism workers, through this engagement with the perceived Western Other have become ‘classic’ cosmopolitans as they, through their cross-cultural engagement, are partly disengaged with their ‘own’ culture while increasingly engaged with aspects of another culture. However, I have also argued that this cosmopolitan identity performance sometimes stands in sharp contrast with the way they are perceived by Western travellers, as they are often seen as ‘locals’ and hence, have to counter both stereotypes and structures of racism. In addition, I have shed light on perceptions tourism workers have of the West. I have argued that tourism worker’s perceptions of the West are informed by Occidentalism and are adopted to (re)construct and perform a ‘traditional’ exclusivist Hindu national identity. This (national) identity also ties in to Orientalist and romanticized notions of (Hindu) Indian culture and traditions and is embedded in the commercialized spiritual activities sold by Indian tourism workers. By linking the construction of a (Hindu) national identity to the commercialization of spiritual practices in Arambol, I have shown that the commercialization of ‘culture’ can not only be explained from an economic of livelihood perspective. Hence, by focusing on both cosmopolitanism as the construction of a national identity, I have shown that ‘local’ identification and cosmopolitan identification are not mutually exclusive but instead, reinforce each other.

## **Chapter 6: Discussion & Conclusion**

### **Discussion**

In this research we have explored the mutual imaginaries between tourism workers and travellers in Arambol in order to shed light on (post)colonial imaginaries in a hybrid tourist place. Specifically, we have looked at mutual imaginaries of the West and India, situating these imaginaries in post-colonial discourse such as Orientalism and Occidentalism and linking these imaginaries to the construction of the ‘national’ and the ‘authentic’ Self. In addition, we have looked at the ways in which these imaginaries shape the performance of a cosmopolitan identity for both groups. We have used the concept of cosmopolitanism to study identity construction in order to transcend the dichotomy of the local versus the tourist or the East versus the West, that has marked tourism studies on the global South for a long time. We have specifically focused on the ways in which both groups engage in cosmopolitan practices and aspire a cosmopolitan lifestyle, however, besides pointing out the parallels between the two groups, we have also explored the ways in which structural power relations influence cosmopolitanism a lived experience. Studying both tourism workers and travellers in a (post)colonial tourist destination has enabled us to analyse how cosmopolitan identity construction is informed by essentializing imaginaries of the Other. In the following paragraphs we will bring together our individual insights. Firstly, we will reflect on cosmopolitan identity performance of both groups, reflecting on the parallels as well as disparities. Secondly, we will reflect on essentializing imaginaries and notions of authenticity. Thirdly, we will reflect on the limitations of our research and outline suggestions for further research, and lastly, we will answer our research question in the conclusion.

### **Between the known and the unknown**

The cross-cultural encounter, and a willingness to engage with the Other is a fundamental aspect of cosmopolitanism (Hannerz 1990). In Arambol, people with all kinds of nationalities and backgrounds live side-by-side. Both tourism workers and travellers explicitly stated that they wanted to travel and visit Arambol in order to meet people from different cultures and nationalities. In relation to tourism workers specifically, this shows that a cosmopolitan identity performance stretches beyond just a competence used to meet travellers demands and earn money. However, although a certain search for Otherness is present and provided for in

Arambol, the tourist destination also provides a certain familiarity by functioning as an enclavic space (Haldrup 2009) for Western travellers. This means that, although a certain Otherness is provided for in terms of (Indian) spiritual experiences, exotic foods and world music, at the same time there are all sorts of European-style places that are specifically catered to Western travellers and usually also run by Westerners. Nonetheless, this familiarity for Western travellers is unfamiliar for Indian tourism workers. Although these kinds of cosmopolitan places can be found in Indian cities as well, most tourism workers still referred to Arambol as a ‘different zone’ and westernized space, that, for them, is clearly distinguishable from the rest of India. Hence, for them, the ‘unknown’ lies in this Westernized space. While the cross-cultural encounter with the ‘unknown’ is an important feature of aspiring a travelling lifestyle for tourism workers and travellers, there is a certain ambiguity with what exactly is known and unknown. The fact that certain travellers’ motivations to engage with spiritual practices in India is also because of their participation in spiritual activities in Europe, problematizes the dichotomy between the known and unknown and shows that Otherness is not always geographically bound but rather hybrid in nature. It must be noted, however, that this ambiguity can be seen less tourism workers. Most tourism workers in this research did refer to a clearly culturally defined Western Other in terms of people and practices, an Otherness that was also clearly geographically bound.<sup>37</sup>

### **Cosmopolitan identity: parallels and disparities**

As aforementioned, tourism studies have mainly focused on encounters between ‘Western guests’ and the ‘host’ or ‘local’ destination (Macrae 2016, 17). However, this dichotomy poses a problem for a tourist destination like Arambol, where both the ‘hosts’ and the ‘guests’ should be seen as travellers who leave behind their home and with it, a certain kind of lifestyle. Therefore, instead of looking at the effect of Western guests on identity construction of the local population and vice versa, we have looked at identity construction as a process of co-constitution (Picard 2011, 9). Herein, we have drawn on Bhabha’s notion of hybridity as a third-space, showing that a tourist destination as Arambol is exactly such a hybrid liminal space in-between cultures in which identities of both tourism workers and travellers are constructed,

---

<sup>37</sup> This could be explained by the fact that most of the tourism workers that were interviewed came from uneducated backgrounds and hence, had limited exposure to ‘cosmopolitan’ spaces. However, this identification of a Western Other should also be situated within the national and political context, something which we will elaborate on later.

translated and negotiated. Although cosmopolitanism as a concept has hardly been applied to tourism workers or non-elites in general (Salazar 2010), it has become clear through our research that there are many parallels in cosmopolitanism as a lived experience between travellers and tourism workers. First of all, both tourism workers and travellers aspire travelling as a lifestyle. Travelling is an important factor in cosmopolitanism. As Hannerz (1990, 240) notes, cosmopolitans are usually somewhat on the 'footloose' or, on the move in the world. This travelling lifestyle for both our informants is often opposed to a kind of 'regular' life at home. This newly adopted travelling lifestyle is often connected to a kind of dissatisfaction that is tied to both Orientalist and Occidentalist imaginaries of the East and West, something on which we will elaborate later. Secondly, another parallel can be seen in how travellers and tourism workers, through their travelling lifestyle, gain cultural knowledge that gives them a certain autonomy vis-a-vis their 'home culture' (Hannerz 1990, 240-248). For tourism workers and travellers this means they have become slightly different than other people in their society, which gives a feeling of 'not fitting in' or a feeling of disconnection with family and friends. Nonetheless, this does not mean they are completely disengaged from their 'own culture', rather they choose to incorporate certain aspects while leaving other aspects behind.

However, in spite of the parallels between cosmopolitanism as a lived experience for tourism workers and travellers, there are many disparities, contradictions and inconsistencies that were revealed through studying both groups. First of all, in Arambol, the disparities in socio-economic circumstances are very evident as most tourism workers work 12-14 hours a day, while travellers are either free or work flexible hours. Secondly, although tourism workers in Arambol can be seen as classic cosmopolitans and well-experienced travellers in terms of their identity performance, their cosmopolitan desires are often restricted by these socio-economic circumstances. Even though all tourism workers stated they had the desire to travel and visit their foreign friends, most of them do not have the financial means to travel abroad. This stands in sharp contrast with most Western travellers, whom usually have the financial means to travel the world and in particular South-Asia, as for them it is particularly cheap. Thirdly, cosmopolitanism as a lived experience for tourism workers is clearly marked by a certain incongruity between the way they identify as cosmopolitans and the way they are sometimes perceived as the Indian local. Indeed, as shown in Joanne's empirical chapter, Western travellers often regarded all Indians in Arambol locals, even though they came from different backgrounds as well as different parts of the country. This means tourism workers have to constantly negotiate their perceived localness, which also implicates the mediation of certain stereotypes as well as defying patterns of racism from Western travellers. While it is

evident that structures of racism between tourism workers and Western travellers exist, Joanne's informants hardly articulated awareness of their privilege in terms of race and ethnicity.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, we argue that cosmopolitanism as a worldview and identity performance does not unquestionably lead to genuine exchange between different cultural groups and is marked by structural asymmetrical power relations. In addition, we suggest that, when applying cosmopolitanism as a concept to study non-elite subjects particularly in the tourism industry, special attention should be given to discrepancies between cosmopolitan self-identification and perceived localness.

### **Between hybridity and authenticity**

Our focus on the concept of imaginaries (Salazar 2012) has enabled us to shed light on how our research populations think and feel about different identities and 'cultures'. In the context of globalization and increased hybridization, one's self construction prevails in a negotiation of social exchanges between people (Hall 1996, 4). In the cross-cultural encounters evident in Arambol, these exchanges and interaction are informed by certain expectations, which Salazar (2012) bring together in the concept of 'imaginaries. By reflecting on mutual imaginaries, we were able to explore the reciprocity of ideas of the Oriental Other and the Occidental Other. Occidental imaginaries consist of ideas about perceived modernity and often involve dehumanizing images of the West (Nair-Venugopal 2012, 43). Orientalism depicts an opposition between the Self and 'the Other', in which the Other is assigned with mystic qualities and powers in order to sustain Western supremacy (Said 2010, 10-182). By focussing on both Western travellers and tourism workers we have found that the cross-cultural encounter between these two groups is informed by a certain 'grand narrative' of the East and West that relies on both Orientalism and Occidentalism. For example, tourism workers express certain 'Western' cultural trends as hedonism. This is related to using drugs, drinking alcohol and having many sexual relationships. Furthermore, Indian yoga teachers also express how the West has influenced Indian people to become more materialistic and live a corporate, 9-to-5 lifestyle. Travellers also associate 'the Western lifestyle' with living a corporate life, having the same routines and being materialistic. Also, both groups view the West as lacking spirituality, which is then contrasted with imaginaries of India. Hence, both travellers and

---

<sup>38</sup> Though, travellers did not reflect on their privileges in relation to race and ethnicity, socio-economical privileges (for example the ability to travel), was often discussed among Joanne's informants.



tourism workers express (negative) essentialized images of the West (Bloch 2017, 75). These negative connotations of the West go hand-in-hand with Orientalist ideas of India and Indian people. For example, travellers view India as more spiritual and culturally different from the West. This spirituality though, is framed solely in terms of Hinduism. Tourism workers too express to these imaginaries of India as being more spiritual or having more depth, however also equalling these traditional Indian values to Hinduism. Hence, it has become clear that these imaginaries, are mutually constructed in one univocal narrative informed by both Orientalism and Occidentalism.

This univocal narrative is embedded in touristic activities and engagements. For tourism workers, especially yoga teachers, this translated into selling spirituality as a commercialized good, by relating it to an authentic 'Indianness'. However, we argue that it is rather simplified to state that these spiritual and traditional aspects are merely incorporated in tourism workers identities and practices for tourist and commercial goals. Instead, we have situated these practices in the construction of a national and ethnic identity. During conversations and interviews with Indian teachers, imaginaries of the West were often positioned vis-à-vis a traditional Indian values and norms. These traditional Indian values relate to growing Hindu-nationalistic politics in India, in which being Indian is equalled to being Hindu, hence, excluding religious minorities. As shown before, these ideas of India's spirituality as exclusively Hindu is voiced in travellers imaginaries as well. However, for travellers these romanticized notions of traditional Indian culture are searched for as an alternative for 'the Western lifestyle'. Through participation in commercialized spiritual activities, travellers attempt to realize a more authentic Self. Thus, it is clear that through these practices, both travellers and tourism workers engage in negotiating a kind of traditional 'Indianness'.

### **Limitations and suggestions for further research**

In the nine months we have been working on this research, we have delved into the anthropology of tourism and post-colonial studies. We are happy to say this has provided us with a lot of new knowledge and experiences, which hopefully reflect in our final thesis. In reading and analysing studies of tourism from an anthropological and post-colonial perspective and by conducting our own fieldwork, we noticed how theoretical concepts can shed light upon lived experience. Using Bhabha's (2004) concept of hybridity and cosmopolitanism as

framework has been very useful in studying a destination like Arambol. By emphasizing a cosmopolitan identity performance, we were able to not only study the experiences of Western travellers but Indian tourism workers as well. However, by just reflecting on cosmopolitan and national identity we have left out other aspects of identity that can be important when studying mutual imaginaries and identity construction. For example, one aspect we have left out in our study is gender. Although we have reflected on gender during the fieldwork in relation to what our participants did and said, a more elaborated analysis of gender in relation to the discourse of Orientalism and Occidentalism (and thus imaginaries) is missing. For example, travelling comes with certain privileges and power structures which are informed by gender structures as well. In addition, focusing on more aspects of identity construction from an intersectional point of view, would contribute to an analysis of power relations in the (post)colonial tourism scene. In addition, religion is another aspect we did not elaborate on in our theory and analysis, however, is a very important aspect of identity performance. Religion comes back in our thesis in relation to practices of spirituality, imaginaries and growing Hindu-nationalism. For example, ideas of (Hindu) traditions are embedded in imaginaries and spiritual practices. However, we have not made a theoretical analysis of religion studies nor elaborately analysed religion as an aspect of one's identity, as due to the scope of our research and our focus on cosmopolitanism it was difficult to analyse religious and spiritual practices and ideas in-depth.

Due to the scope of our research another aspect we have left out is the variety of people living in and travelling to Arambol. Our focus on Indian tourism workers and Western travellers does not give a holistic reflection of people living and coming to Arambol. For example, we did not study the 'local' Goan community. In addition, although Russian charter-tourists constitute a part of tourism in Arambol as well, we have not incorporated this group in our analysis. Lastly, Arambol is a popular destination for domestic tourists as well. However, considering the fact that this kind of charter-tourism is an entirely different form of tourism then the community-based tourism we have focussed on, including these group would require different theoretical tools for analysis. Drawing upon these limitations of our research, we have some suggestions for further research. For example, research into emerging communities of people and lifestyles in Arambol would be interesting. This could be an extended period of ethnographic study on Arambol as a community in which all voices and subjectivities are heard. In addition to an extended ethnographic study, a mobile ethnography<sup>39</sup> would be fruitful

---

<sup>39</sup> For more information about the concept of mobile ethnography see: "*Mobile ethnography: emergence, techniques and its importance to geography*", written by Andre Novoa (2015).

as well. It would allow scholars to grasp the experiences and different parts of travellers and tourism workers journey's, which might help to grasp their ideas of India, Goa and the West more elaborately. Furthermore, research to the lived experiences of 'digital nomads' and their way of life would be interesting to study. Theoretically this phenomenon is still under exposed, though it would however offer new insights into the concept of 'tourism'. As Macrae (2016, 17) comprehensively states: "A tourism studies that focuses narrowly on 'tourism' is unlikely to develop the insights necessary to interpret the changing situations in which tourism actually occurs and which in turn shape tourism." Hence, further tourism studies, especially in hybrid spaces as Arambol, will hopefully give a more inclusive image of the lived experiences of global, national and local processes.

## **Conclusion**

In this thesis, we have attempted to answer the research question "What ideas and imaginaries of Otherness exist in the mutual relationship between backpackers and tourism workers and how does this shape a cosmopolitan identity performance?". We have asked ourselves this question in order to contribute to the (on)going debate on imaginaries and cosmopolitanism in (post)colonial tourism destinations. We have chosen Arambol specifically because in Arambol a kind of long-term and community-based tourism has emerged, in which both travellers and tourism workers engage in multiple ways. Hence, it enabled us to shed light on perceptions of Otherness in a culturally hybrid space. As noted by various scholars, cosmopolitanism is closely tied with a search for, and encounters with the Other. While engaging with the Other, previously unfamiliar aspects of the Other are incorporated into the identity performance of individuals, hence constituting a distinctive cosmopolitan identity. We have demonstrated that in Arambol, both travellers and tourism workers travel and stay there as part of a quest for cross-cultural contact with the Other. In addition, we have also shown that this cross-cultural contact leads to different ways of being for both tourism workers and travellers. However, we argue that although Arambol provides rather exotic aspects of Otherness, it also functions as a familiar 'enclavic' space for Western travellers, as it provides certain Western 'comforts' such as European-style restaurants and cafes. Such Western 'comforts' are in turn perceived as a Westernized and 'different' zone by Indian tourism workers. Therefore, drawing on Bhabha's (2004) work, we argue that Arambol should be seen as a third-space, in which the boundaries between familiarity and Otherness as well as what is known and what is unknown are blurred. Nonetheless, while Arambol in many ways is a cosmopolitan space 'par excellence', we have

argued that within this space, cross-cultural engagement between tourism workers and travellers does not transcend structural (disparate) power relations. Indeed, in Arambol, (lower) socio-economic status, race and ethnicity very much mark cosmopolitanism as a lived experience. In conjunction with these disparities, we have demonstrated that in Arambol, essentializing imaginaries and static ideas of cultures are reinforced. These imaginaries, informed by both Orientalism and Occidentalism, are mutually constructed between tourism workers and travellers into 'grand narrative'. In this 'grand narrative' the West and Western cultural influences are demonized, while aspects of 'traditional' Indian culture (specifically, its mystics and spirituality) are romanticized. We argue that, through Indian tourism workers, these Occidentalist and Orientalist imaginaries are materialized in the supply of (commercial) spiritual activities and practices like yoga and meditation. However, more importantly, we have also argued that these (materialized) imaginaries should be situated in a context of (growing) Hindu-nationalism and tie in to the (re)construction of a national and religious identity. For Western travellers, as we have illustrated, these imaginaries tie in to a search for an 'authentic Self' established through the engagement with the (supplied) commercialized spiritual activities. Considering all of the aforementioned, we argue that in a community-based tourism destination like Arambol, processes of cultural hybridization go hand-in-hand with the (re)enforcement of static and essentializing ideas of culture. Hence, in studying tourism destinations like Arambol, where people with different cultural backgrounds find new ways of understanding each other while simultaneously finding ways of understanding the Self, it is important to pay attention to the appreciation of human diversity, while never glossing over power relations that mark such diversity.

## Works Cited

- Aitchison, Cara. 2001. "Theorizing Other Discourses of Tourism, Gender and Culture: Can the Subaltern Speak (in Tourism)?" *Tourist Studies* 1 (2): 133–47.
- Anderson Benedict. 2016. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Appadurai, Arjuni. 2010. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. 9th print ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony. 1996. "Cosmopolitan Patriots" in *For Love of Country?* edited by Joshua Cohen. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Bandyopadhyay, Ranjan, and Duarte Morais. 2005. "Representative dissonance: India's self and western image." *Annals of Tourism Research* 32 (4): 1006-1021.
- Bandyopadhyay, Ranjan. 2010. "You Can Do Anything in Goa, India." A Visual Ethnography of Tourism as Neo-colonialism" in *Tourism and Visual Culture*. Vol. V. 2, *Methods and Cases* edited by Peter Burns, Jo-Anne Lester and Lyn Bibbings, 200-208. Wallingford, Oxfordshire: CAB International.
- Beaman, Lori G. and Sonia Sikka. 2016. "Introduction: A Journey to Elsewhere" in *Constructions of Self and Other in Yoga, Travel, and Tourism: A Journey to Elsewhere*, edited by Lori G. Beaman and Sonia Sikka, 1-8. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bertens, Hans. 2007. *Literary theory: The basics*. London: Routledge.
- Bhabha, Homi K. 2012. *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.
- Bloch, Natalia. 2017. "Barbarians in India. Tourism as Moral Contamination." *Annals of Tourism Research* 62: 64-77.
- Boeije, Hennie. 2010. *Analysis in Qualitative Research*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Bresner, Katie. 2010. "Othering, Power Relations and Indigenous Tourism: Experiences in Australia's Northern Territory." *PlatForum* 11: 10-26.
- Carrier, James G. 1995. *Occidentalism: Images of the West: Images of the West*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Caton, Kellee. 2013. "The risky business of understanding: Philosophical hermeneutics and the knowing subject in worldmaking." *Tourism Analysis* 18 (3): 341-351.
- Cohen, Erik. 1979. "Rethinking the Sociology of Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 6 (1): 18–35.
- Cohen, Scott A. 2011 "Lifestyle travellers: Backpacking as a way of life." *Annals of Tourism Research* 38 (4): 1535-1555.

Crick, Malcolm. 1995. "The anthropologist as tourist: an identity in question." *International tourism: identity and change* edited by M.F Lanfant, J.B Allcock and E.M Bruner 205-223. London: Sage Publications.

D'Andrea, Anthony. 2007. *Global nomads: Techno and new age as transnational countercultures in Ibiza and Goa*. London: Routledge.

Davidson, Kelly. 2005. "Alternative India: Transgressive spaces" in *Discourse, communication and tourism Vol. 5* edited by Adam Jaworski and Annette Pritchard, 28-52. Channel View Publications.

DeWalt, Kathleen and Billie R. DeWalt. 2011. *Participant Observation: a Guide for Fieldworkers*. New York: Altamira Press.

Diekmann, Anya, and Kevin Hannam. 2010. *Tourism and India: A critical introduction*. London: Routledge.

Du Gay, Paul, and Stuart Hall. 2011. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. Los Angeles, Calif.: Sage.

Edensor, Tim. 2000. "Staging tourism: Tourists as performers." *Annals of tourism Research* 27 (2): 322-344.

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. 2007. *Globalization: The Key Concepts*. Oxford: Berghahn publications.

Febriani, Intan. 2015. "Tasting Indonesia: Cosmopolitanism in Culinary Tourism." *International Journal of Tourism Anthropology* 4 (2): 111-121.

Galani-Moutafi, Vasiliki. 2000. "The self and the other: Traveler, ethnographer, tourist." *Annals of tourism Research* 27 (1): 203-224.

Gibson, Chris. "Geographies of Tourism: (Un)Ethical Encounters." *Progress in Human Geography* 34 (4): 521-27.

Giddens, Anthony. 1991. *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Stanford university press.

Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Everyday Life*. New York: Anchor Books. Government of India, Athithidevo Bhava, *Tourism at a Glance* (2018). [http://tourism.gov.in/sites/default/files/Other/ITS\\_Glance\\_2018\\_Eng\\_Version\\_for\\_Mail.pdf](http://tourism.gov.in/sites/default/files/Other/ITS_Glance_2018_Eng_Version_for_Mail.pdf). Accessed on January 20<sup>th</sup> 2019.

Haldrup, Michael. 2016. "Banal tourism? Between cosmopolitanism and orientalism." *In Cultures of mass tourism: Doing the Mediterranean in the Age of Banal Mobilities* edited by Pau Obrador Pons, Mike Crang and Penny Travlou, 63-84. London: Routledge.

Hannerz, Ulf. 1990. "Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture." *Theory Culture Society* 7: 237-251.

Hannerz, Ulf. 2007. "Cosmopolitanism" in *A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics* edited by David Nugent and Joan Vincent. 69-85. New Jersey: Blackwell Publishing.

Hollinshead, Keith. 1998. "Tourism, hybridity, and ambiguity: The relevance of Bhabha's 'third space' cultures." *Journal of Leisure Research* 30 (1): 121-156.

Inden, Ronald. 1986 "Orientalist constructions of India." *Modern Asian Studies* 20 (3): 401-446.

Jaakson, Reiner. 2004. "Globalisation and neocolonialist tourism" in *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested discourses, identities and representations* ed. C. Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker, 169-183 (New York: Routledge, 2004).

Jaffrelot, Christopher. 2007. *Hindu-nationalism: a reader*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Jaworski, Adam, and Annette Pritchard. 2005. *Discourse, Communication, and Tourism*. Tourism and Cultural Change, 5. Clevedon England: Channel View Publications.

Kerrigan, Finola, Jyotsna Shivanandan, and Anne-Marie Hede, 2011. "Nation branding: A critical appraisal of Incredible India." *Journal of Macromarketing* 32 (3): 319-327.

King, Richard. 2013. *Orientalism and Religion: Post-Colonial Theory, India and "The Mystic East"*. London: Routledge.

Kontogeorgopoulos, Nick. 2003. "Keeping up with the Joneses: Tourists, travellers, and the quest for cultural authenticity in southern Thailand." *Tourist Studies* 3 (2): 171-203.

Kwame, Anthony Appiah. 2006. *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Leite, Naomi and Margaret Swain. 2015. "Anthropology of Tourism" in *Encyclopedia of Tourism* ed. Jafar Jafari and Hongge Xiao. London: SpringerReference.

Leite, Naomi. 2014. "Locating imaginaries in the anthropology of tourism." In *Tourism imaginaries: Anthropological approaches*, edited by Noel B. Salazar and Nelson HH. Graburn, 260-278. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Lisa Smith. 2016. "Being on the Mat: Quasi-Sacred Spaces, 'Exotic' Other Places and Yoga Studios in the 'West'". In *Constructions of the Self and Other in Yoga, Travel and Tourism* edited by L.G Beaman and S, Sikka. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lonely Planet. 2018. "India Travel: Welcome to India". Last modified September 2018.

MacCannell, Dean. 1973. "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings." *American Journal of Sociology* 79 (3): 589-603. doi:10.1086/225585.

Macrae, Graeme. 2016. "Community and cosmopolitanism in the new Ubud." *Annals of Tourism Research* 59: 16-29.

Maoz, Darya. 2006. "The mutual gaze." *Annals of Tourism Research* 33, (1): 221-239.

Mossière, Géraldine. 2016. "Constructions of Self and Other in Yoga, Travel, and Tourism, Time, Space, and the Fantasised Other in Me" in *Constructions of Self and Other in Yoga, Travel, and Tourism: A Journey to Elsewhere*, edited by Lori G. Beaman and Sonia Sikka, 73-80. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Munt, Ian. 1994. "The Other' postmodern tourism: culture, travel and the new middle classes." *Theory, Culture & Society* 11 (3): 101-123.

Nagel, Joane. 2003. *Race, ethnicity, and sexuality: Intimate intersections, forbidden frontiers*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Nair-Venugopal, Shanta. 2012. *The Gaze of the West and Framings of the East*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Nash, Dennison. 2007. *The study of tourism: anthropological and sociological beginnings*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Notar, Beth E. 2008. "Producing Cosmopolitanism at the Borderlands: Lonely Planetters and "Local" Cosmopolitans in South-West China. *Anthropological Quarterly* 81 (3): 615-650.

Novoa, Andre. 2015. "Mobile ethnography: emergence, techniques and its importance to geography." *Human Geographies--Journal of Studies & Research in Human Geography* 9 (1).

Nunez, Theron. 2012. "Touristic Studies in Anthropological Perspective" in *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* ed. by Valene L. Smith, 263-280. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

O'Regan, Michael. 2010. "Backpacker Hostels, Place and Performance" in *Beyond backpacker tourism: Mobilities and experiences*, edited by Kevin Hannam and Anya Diekmann, 85-101. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

O'Reilly, Camille. 2005. "Tourist or Traveller? Narrating Backpacker Identity" in *Discourse, Communication and Tourism*, edited by Adam Jaworski and Annette Pritchard, 150-173. London: Channel View Publications.

Olsen, Kjell. 2002. "Authenticity as a concept in tourism research: The social organization of the experience of authenticity." *Tourist studies* 2 (2): 159-182.

Pamila Gupta. 2014. "Frozen Vodka and White Skin in Tourist Goa" in *Tourism and the Power of Otherness. Seductions of Difference* edited by David Picard and Michael A. Di Giovine, 95-110. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Picard, David. 2011. *Tourism, Magic and Modernity*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.



Rebecca Jane Bennett. 2008. "Entering the Global Margin: Setting the 'Other' Scene in Independent Travel" in *Tourism and Mobilities: Local-Global Connections* ed. Peter M. Burns and Maria Novelli, 133-145. Trowbridge: Cromwell Press.

Richard H. Davis. 2014. *The Bhagavad Gita: A Biography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Routledge, Paul. 2002. "Consuming Goa: tourist site as dispensable space." *Economic and Political Weekly* 35 (30): 2647-2656.

Rutherford, Jonathan. 1990. *Identity: community, culture, difference*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

Säävälä, Minna. 2009. "Occidentalism and Asian Middle-Class Identities: Notes on Birthday Cakes in an Indian Context" in *Identity in Crossroad Civilisations: Ethnicity, Nationalism and Globalism in Asia*, edited by Erich Kolig, Vivienne SM. Angeles and Sam Wong, 132-146. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Said, Edward. 1978. "Orientalism: Western representations of the Orient." New York: Pantheon.

Salazar, Noel B., and Nelson H.H. Graburn. 2014. *Tourism imaginaries: Anthropological approaches*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Salazar, Noel. B. 2010. "Tourism and cosmopolitanism: a view from below." *International Journal Tourism Anthropology* 1 (1): 55-69.

Salazar, Noel. B. 2012. "Tourism Imaginaries: a Conceptual Approach" *Annals of Tourism Research* 39(2): 863-882.

Saldanha, Arun. 2002. "Identity, Spatiality and Post-Colonial Resistance: Geographies of the Tourism Critique in Goa." *Current Issues in Tourism* 5 (2): 94-111.

Saldhana, Arun. (2002). "Identity, spatiality and post-colonial resistance: Geographies of the tourism critique in Goa." *Current Issues in Tourism* 5, No 2 (March): 95-101.

Shepherd, Robert. 2002. "Commodification, culture and tourism." *Tourist studies* 2 (2): 183-201.

Skrbis, Zlatko, Gavin Kendall, and Ian Woodward. 2004. "Locating Cosmopolitanism: Between Humanist Ideal and Grounded Social Category." *Theory, Culture & Society* 21 (6): 115-136.

Smith, Valene L. 2012. *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Snee, Helene. 2013. "Framing the Other: cosmopolitanism and the representation of difference in overseas gap year narratives." *The British Journal of Sociology* 64(1): 142-162.

Swain, Margaret Byrne. 2009. "The cosmopolitan hope of tourism: Critical action and worldmaking vistas." *Tourism Geographies* 11 (4): 505-525.

Swain, Margaret Byrne. 2014. "Myth Management in Tourism's Imaginariums Tales from Southwest China and Beyond Tourism Imaginaries" in *Tourism imaginaries: Anthropological approaches*, edited by Noel B. Salazar and Nelson HH. Graburn, 103-124. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Thapar, Romila. 1989. "Imagined Religious Communities? Ancient History and the Modern Search for a Hindu Identity" *Modern Asian Studies* 23 (2): 209–31.

Urry, John and Bronislaw Szerszynski. 2006. "Visuality, mobility and the cosmopolitan: inhabiting the world from afar." *The British Journal of Sociology* 57 (1): 113-131.

Urry, John. 1996. *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: Sage.

Urry, John. 2008. "Foreword" in *Tourism and Mobilities: Local-Global Connections* ed. Peter M. Burns and Maria Novelli, xiv-xv. Trowbridge: Cromwell Press.

Winter, T., Teo, and T.C. Chang. 2009. *Asia on Tour: Exploring the Rise of Asian Tourism*. New York: Routledge.